

*The Rev. Dr. Sprague - with the
kind regards of his sincere friend
J. S. Buckham*

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S ALLEGED RETAINER
FROM THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

[Letter addressed to the Conductors of the Public Press.]

SIR,

LONDON, MARCH, 1830.

I APPEAL to your sense of justice, to read and give the utmost degree of publicity that your means will afford, to the following brief statement, for the purpose of removing the scandalous imputation which has been so unjustly fastened on me, as a traitor to the Cause I profess to serve.

In several of the public Journals the following paragraph has appeared, and from its having gone the round of the Provincial Press, before it was brought to my notice, has remained uncontradicted. It is couched in these terms :—" *It is confidently stated that Mr. Buckingham has received an ample retainer from the East India Company, and that he will therefore retire from public life.*"

The impression created by this assertion, which is made with a confidence proportioned to its falsehood, has been injurious to me in the highest degree; and has already led to proceedings which have driven me to the very verge of despair. I am therefore compelled, painful as such an alternative must be, to choose between giving countenance, by my silence, to this base imputation, or disclosing to public view the sad reverse of the picture here pourtrayed. I prefer the latter, because truth is better than deception, and because, great as have been my sufferings, I stand proudly free from all taint of infidelity to the public cause with which my name has been so long associated.

The history of my labours to effect a beneficial intercourse between England and India may be told in few words. I was first banished from Bombay, for having daring, without the permission of the East India Company, to visit that port from Egypt, for the purpose of reviving its ancient freedom of trade. I was next banished from Calcutta, although then furnished with the Company's permission or licence to reside there, for having dared to attempt the advocacy of English laws, in opposition to irresponsible power, and to plead for the freedom of commerce and the freedom of opinion combined. Through these severe punishments, each inflicted without a trial, hearing, or defence, I was subjected to enormous losses: by the first, I was deprived of a maritime command, and a fortune of 30,000*l.* sterling; by the second, a property worth 40,000*l.* was annihilated, and an income of 8,000*l.* a-year, which I then enjoyed from this property, entirely of my own creation, utterly destroyed. Independently of this, I brought with me to England more than 10,000*l.*; and during the last seven years that I have devoted to the public cause, the whole of that sum has been expended in the promotion of the one great object of my constant and undeviating pursuit; namely, the opening of the marts of India and China to British Commerce, and with it, to British capital, skill, and enterprise, with all the blessings of morality and religion, which these are sure to bring in their train.

During the past year, 1829, my efforts have been directed to visiting all the principal towns and ports in England and Scotland, for the purpose of awakening public attention to the evils of the East India Company's Monopoly, and during the whole of that period, I have scarcely omitted a day, (the Sabbath alone excepted,) in which I have not been addressing assemblies of the greatest intelligence and respectability, varying from 12 to 1,200 in number each, for I deemed no audience too small to be neglected, or too large to be attempted. Throughout these journeys, not less than 100,000 different individuals have been informed and animated by what they heard from my lips, and thus induced to unite in petitioning against the renewal of the East India Charter. In fifteen of the principal places of the kingdom, Public Associations have been formed by my personal persuasion and influence. In almost every provincial paper of the Island, discussions on the India Question have been agitated, chiefly by my visits

and addresses in their neighbourhood; and, at the present moment, there is sitting in London a Committee of Deputies from the provinces, from whom, in their respective homes, I was honoured with public votes of thanks for what they were pleased to term my "*valuable labours*" among them.

Since my return to London, and during the present year 1830, I have never omitted a single day, in which I have not, in every quarter of the Metropolis successively, given Public Lectures on the Countries and affairs of the East, all of them having close connection with the India Question, and the most powerful of them being expressly directed to show the necessity of abolishing the existing Monopoly, and opening the Eastern World generally to British intercourse.

Throughout the whole of this eventful period, neither my zeal nor my exertion has suffered the least abatement. So far, however, am I from having "*received a Retainer from the East India Company*," as is falsely alleged, that they have never yet even restored to me a shilling of all the fortune of which their servants have deprived me, nor given me grounds for even the shadow of a hope of redress, either near or remote. I may add, that I am equally free from obligation to any other party, neither having received a Retainer, nor assistance, from any of the Public Associations of Merchants in India, or in England, all of whom appear to consider their duty to be sufficiently discharged, in receiving the full benefit of whatever advantages may be obtained for them by the labours of an advocate, and bestowing on him their votes of thanks and acclamations in return. Whatever I have sacrificed and expended in this career, now extended through fifteen years of consistent and undeviating duration, has been the produce of my own industry and frugality combined; and this sacrifice has been so large, and so unsparing, that I am now—at an age when most men are prepared for retirement and repose rather than for labour and privation—obliged, from the pressure of claims arising out of my public labours,—to part with every thing I possess,—to strip myself of every vestige of property, however minute,—to relinquish even the comforts of a home,—and to go forth into the world, a wanderer, without a dwelling or a possession, and with nothing but Hope for my consolation or my guide.

Whether this is a spectacle which reflects greater honour on the East India Company, by whom I have been plundered, or on the Merchants of India and England, in whose joint cause this shipwreck of all my labours has been made, it is not for me to pronounce. But, while I am actually suffering all the horrors of a dark and gloomy future, with weary days and sleepless nights for my portion, I cannot suffer it to go forth uncontradicted to the world, that I am *enriched* by infidelity and treason; or that I have betrayed the cause even of those who have thus suffered me to fall a victim to my zeal on their behalf. No! this cannot, this must not be. I have traversed the burning deserts of the East, naked and on foot, I have suffered hunger, thirst, and imprisonment in foreign climes, and have braved death in almost every form of tempest, pestilence, and battle; and, therefore, though I am grown older, and less able to sustain these shocks, than when in the vigour of health, and hope, and manhood,—the recollections of the past will rally all my faculties for the struggle, and I shall not utterly sink even amidst the waves that now surround me. But though I can, while in the bosom of my family and dependants, suffer pain and privation with resignation and with silence, and though I am constrained, when appearing before the world, to conceal, beneath an attempted cheerful countenance, the beating struggles of an anxious and a heavy heart,—I cannot, and will not, while I live, consent to brook, unanswered, the malignant imputation of being the betrayer of a public cause. I have lived and lingered on in defending the claims of others; I will die rather than abandon the defence of my own.

4, Brunswick Place,
Regent's Park.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

EXPLANATORY REPORT,

&c. &c. &c.

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SKETCH
OF
MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LIFE, TRAVELS,
AND
LECTURES ON THE ORIENTAL WORLD.

AN entire year having now elapsed, since the measures, of which these sheets are intended to comprise the history, were first put into operation, it is thought desirable to shew what has been done, by unremitted perseverance, in even that brief period : as nothing is more encouraging to the exertions of the future, than a retrospective glance at the success which has attended the exertions of the past. On my first landing in England from India, in the Summer of 1823, after an absence of upwards of ten years, I made a hurried Tour through the principal districts of England and Scotland, chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining how far any disposition existed in the community to take an interest in the fate of India—considered as a part of the British empire, and as such having a strong claim on patriotic attention. During the whole of this Tour, which occupied about four months, I found everywhere, even in the best circles, the most extraordinary want of information respecting our Eastern possessions. Scarcely one person in a hundred appeared to know more of India than that it was a country at a great distance, where the climate was very hot, the people very savage, and fortunes easily made by those who escaped the cholera morbus, or the liver ; but, this very absence of all accurate or detailed information on the subject, was perhaps one reason why every communication that I had an opportunity of making to others respecting any part of the Asiatic world was listened to with avidity, and with such an evident delight, as to convince me, that when the proper time arrived, I could render no better service to my country, or to mankind, than by making a second Tour throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of explaining verbally, to as many auditors as could be collected, whatever I deemed worthy of their attention in that part of the East with which I was best acquainted. I naturally concluded, that if 20 persons would suspend conversation at a dinner table, for the purpose of listening with great silence and earnestness to a description of some scene, or a narrative of some event of which I had been a witness in India, there could be no good reason why 200 might not be equally ready to listen with the same attention to similar communications elsewhere. I accordingly formed the resolution of waiting until the near approach of the Parliamentary Discussions on the East India Company's Charter should give an additional excitement to public curiosity, and then putting my plan of this Personal Tour into execution.

I returned to London, established THE ORIENTAL HERALD, a Monthly Journal, devoted especially to the progressive development of the state of Asia generally, and of India in particular ; continued it through five years of uninterrupted publication, from 1824 to the beginning of 1829 ; and availed myself besides of every opportunity that presented itself, by petitions to parliament—by appeals to the Privy Council—by proceedings in Courts of Justice—by the establishment of Political and Literary Journals—and by every means that my imagination could devise, to excite discussion and spread information respecting India through every open channel, and in every accessible spot. During this period, not less than 6000*l.* sterling, (partly from my own funds

the whole of the remnant of my Indian property being devoted to that purpose, and partly from the sums contributed by others to assist the cause,) were expended or sunk, in furtherance of this uniform and unaltered design, of awakening the people of England to a sense of the importance of our Indian possessions, and the benefits that would accrue to both countries by a better system of intercourse between them. And if to this be added the unintermitted and laborious application of every faculty, every thought, and every moment of my time, through good report and through evil report, by day and by night, in sickness and in trouble, as well as in vigorous health and comparative tranquillity—when persecuted by enemies—sneered at by false friends—and discouraged by the anxious fears and apprehensions of real ones—I believe I may truly say, that whether as regards the application of money or of labour, no cause was ever more resolutely, or more undeviatingly, adhered to, through every opposing circumstance, than this has been by me.

The time at length approached when I had determined to put my plan of the Tour into effect; and after making such arrangements as my temporary absence from London required, for I contemplated only occasional visits to the country at first, I made public the following announcement of my intention.

‘Mr. Buckingham, having long since stated his intention of visiting personally, and in succession, all the principal towns of England, preparatory to the approaching expiration of the East India Company’s Charter, intends commencing immediately with Liverpool, where he will be early in January, for the purpose of arranging with the principal Merchants of that great Commercial port, the best mode of inducing the Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests of the kingdom, generally, to oppose, by all legal and constitutional means within their power, the further renewal of the East India Company’s exclusive Monopoly, the discussions on which will now soon commence in Parliament. Mr. Buckingham has already announced his intention to give a Series of Lectures, during his stay in Liverpool, on the Geography, Antiquities, Productions, Population, Commerce, Resources, Government, Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Eastern World, more especially of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia, and India; the entire profits of which he proposes to devote to the commencement of a Public Fund, for promoting such measures as may be thought best calculated to remedy those evils, which, both in England and in India, are inseparable from the arbitrary power and exclusive privileges now vested in that Chartered Monopoly.’

To satisfy, in as brief a compass as I could, the many enquiries which I knew would be made, as to my qualifications, motives, and the events that had led to my possession of the requisite knowledge for the task, I drew up also the following

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

WHEN an individual invites the attention of the public to the facts and arguments by which he may attempt to support his views on any great public question, it is not unreasonable that those to whom his appeal is made, should ask for some proof of his claims to their attention, and demand the exhibition of his credentials before they consent to honour him with their confidence; and being myself quite as desirous of granting, as others can be of asking, such reasonable concessions, I proceed to give a Sketch of the most material grounds on which I consider my claims to general confidence to be established. It will of necessity be very brief, and merely an outline—for the history of forty years is not easy to be condensed into a few pages;—but when I add, that I shall be always ready to afford to any one who may deem it worth his inquiry, the more detailed information he may seek, by a personal interview and verbal conference, I hope I shall sufficiently acquit myself of my duty by the union of these two modes of communication.

At the very early age of nine years, I embraced, with the most enthusiastic ardour, the maritime profession; and embarked in one of his Majesty’s Packets for a foreign station. Before I completed my tenth year, I was captured, and, as a prisoner of war, passed several months in confinement at Corunna: and before I completed my eleventh year, I had been marched, with the rest of the officers and crew of the ship

in which I sailed, a distance of many hundred miles bare-foot through Spain and Portugal, from Corunna, through St. Iago di Compostella, Vigo, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem to Lisbon.

Subsequent to this, I visited other countries in the same profession; and obtained a maritime command at the early age of twenty-one. In this capacity I performed several voyages to the West Indies, the two Americas, and the Mediterranean Sea, including Gibraltar, Malta, the Greek Islands, and Smyrna in the Levant: in which, uniting as I did, the occupation of Seaman and Merchant, and conducting not merely the navigation but the commerce of the voyage, I had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the facts and circumstances bearing in any degree upon either; of which I very sedulously availed myself: and to show the manner in which this information was used, I need only refer to the early pages of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, where, in a series of papers, entitled ‘Unpublished Manuscripts of a Traveller in the East,’* will be found a very copious detail of my principal Voyages in the Mediterranean: and a Report on the Commerce of Smyrna, including a detailed history of all its peculiarities, with a minute description of its Exports, Imports, Duties, &c. &c., which may fairly challenge comparison with any similar paper, for fullness, clearness, and fidelity.†

In the year 1813, having formed the intention of resigning my command, and settling at Malta, as a general merchant, I sailed from London with that view. The attractions of Malta as a place of settlement for that purpose, consisted in its being the great central magazine or dépôt, from which the continent of Europe, then under a rigorous blockade against all British manufactures, by the decrees of Napoleon Buonaparte, was supplied with every description of merchandise, both in English goods and colonial produce; and also in its being the great prize-port, into which all captured vessels were brought for adjudication and sale, by decrees of the Vice-Admiralty Court, of which Malta was the chief station.

Uniting as I did, in my own person, a thorough knowledge of all mercantile matters, connected either with Colonial produce or British manufactures; being equally well acquainted with the value of ships and marine stores; and speaking familiarly the several languages of which Malta was the seat, namely, Arabic, Greek, French and Italian;—there was every prospect before me of a successful mercantile career, by a settlement in that island, at that particular period.

On arriving off the port of Valetta, however, it was found that the plague, which had not been known there for upwards of a century, raged with such violence as to induce the Governor to prohibit the landing of any individuals, and indeed to prevent any personal communication with the shore. The cargoes destined for this dépôt were accordingly landed in magazines near the sea, and the ships proceeded to other ports; the one in which I was embarked going on to Smyrna.

I remained there a sufficient period to be a considerable loser by the calamitous events that occurred at Malta, in consequence of the long-continued and devastating pestilence which afflicted that island; and at length proceeded to look around that country for fresh sources of enterprise. The cordial reception given to me by the British residents there, soon obtained me the notice and attention of the Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, the present ruler of that interesting country. He was at this period just beginning to perceive the advantage of encouraging the settlement, in Egypt, of persons of skill and capital, from every quarter of the globe, for the purpose of improving the resources of his dominion; and, extending his views also to external commerce, I had the pleasure of passing many successive evenings with him in his Divan, after all his public officers, excepting only his confidential Secretary, were dismissed, and there, with a set of Arrowsmith’s charts, which I exhibited to him, explaining the relative positions and productions of various countries—the winds, seasons, monsoons, currents, rocks, shoals, &c., as well as the theory and practice of navigation and hydrography;—all of which afforded him such delight, that we often sat together until near the dawn of the following morning; and I at length succeeded in having transcribed, upon a duplicate set of Arrowsmith’s charts traced by my own hand for the purpose, all the information of importance, written in the Arabic language and character.

* See ‘*Ciental Herald*,’ vol. vi. p. 15. 243. 456; vol. vii. p. 46. 497; vol. viii. p. 471; vol. ix. p. 83. 268. 509; vol. x. p. 72. 294. 473; vol. xi. p. 91. 331. 545.

† See ‘*Ontal Herald*,’ vol. x. p. 72. 473.

Sea Voyage from Egypt to India.

One of the undertakings which I subsequently proposed to accomplish for him, was the re-opening of the ancient canal which formerly connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean;* and another was the transporting across the Desert of the Isthmus, before the canal should be opened, two beautiful American brigs then lying in the harbour of Alexandria, which he was anxious to get into the Red Sea, but feared the East India Company would prevent his sending them round the Cape of Good Hope.† But at this period, the war against the Wahabees occupied almost the exclusive attention of all parties in Egypt, and ultimately compelled the Pasha himself to repair to the seat of hostilities in Arabia; while those to whom he confided the government of the country in his absence, were far less able than himself to appreciate the value of such works as these.

From Alexandria I proceeded to Cairo; and from thence ascended the Nile into Nubia, beyond the Cataracts, being prevented from penetrating farther in consequence of an almost total blindness, occasioned by a long and severe ophthalmia, one of the plagues that still afflict Egypt. On my descent I halted at Keneh, and crossed the Desert to Kosseir, on the shores of the Red Sea. In the course of this journey, I encountered, nearly in the middle of the Desert, a party of the mutinous soldiery of the Egyptian army, returning in a state of revolt from Kosseir, by whom I was stripped, plundered, and left entirely naked on the barren waste, at a distance of sixty miles, at least, from any habitation or supply of food or water. The narrative of this disastrous journey would alone make a volume, if extended to all its details: I must here content myself with saying, however, that by perseverance I succeeded in reaching Kosseir, though under circumstances of the most painful and distressing nature: and that, add to my sufferings, I was obliged to retrace all my steps, and return again to Keneh on the Nile, from the impossibility of prosecuting my route farther in that direction.‡

I descended the Nile to Cairo, from thence traversed the Isthmus of Suez, explored all the surrounding country, and visited every part of Lower Egypt and the Delta, habited as an Egyptian, speaking the language, and mixing freely with the people of the country.

It was at this period that a proposition was made to me by the English merchants then resident in Egypt, to undertake, on their account, a voyage to India by way of the Red Sea: first, to survey its hydrography, till that period most inaccurately known, and thus to judge of the practicability of its coasting navigation by English ships; and next, to ascertain how far the merchants of India—but those at Bombay more especially—might feel disposed to renew the commercial intercourse which formerly existed between India and Egypt, for the supply of all the higher parts of the Mediterranean.

I readily acceded to this proposition, and set out for Suez accordingly, profiting by the departure of a large caravan then conveying the pilgrims of Africa, collected at Cairo, to the great Temple at Mecca; and bearing also the Harem of Mohammed Ali Pasha, consisting of fifty or sixty of the most beautiful women of Asia, to his camp in the Holy Land.§ The voyage was continued, under most disastrous circumstances, to Jeddah, from thence to Mocha, and ultimately to India.

The merchants of Bombay being, however, unwilling to resume the commerce with Egypt, except under securities which it was hardly probable they could obtain, I considered my mission at an end; and, after communicating the result to the proper quarter, my attention was turned to some maritime or mercantile occupation in India itself.

* For a collected view of all the best information on this subject, see 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. v. p. 1.

† These are both adverted to in the Preface to the 'Travels in Palestine,' the first of my published works.

‡ The idea having been first started in 'The Athenæum' of producing a volume, similar to the Annuals, for the benefit of the distressed foreign refugees in England, to which the leading literary men of England should be invited to contribute their assistance gratuitously, I selected, from my unpublished manuscripts, an account of this Desert Journey, written a few days after its termination, and devoted it to this purpose. I subsequently obtained the consent of that excellent man, and accomplished statesman and scholar, Sir James Mackintosh, to charge himself with the Editorship of this proposed volume, and have, therefore, great pleasure in thus drawing public attention to its object, in the benevolence of which every feeling heart must concur. (This duty afterwards devolved upon Mr. Thomas Campbell, the poet; but the publication has since, from some unforeseen obstacle, been unhappily frustrated.)

§ An account of this Journey across the Isthmus, was furnished, from my unpublished manuscripts, at the request of Mr. Pringle, the able editor of 'The Friendship's Offering,' for 1827, for the pages of that beautiful and interesting Annual, where it will be found.

First Banishment from Bombay.

This was soon obtained; for I had scarcely been a week on shore, before I was appointed to the command of a fine new frigate, just launched for the Imam of Muscat, an independent Arab prince, who had commissioned her for a voyage to China. I was invested with the command, and was actually engaged in rigging and fitting her out, when, not less to my regret than surprise, I received a letter from the Government of Bombay, dated May 10, 1815, which is so short that it may be given entire.

'SIR,—I have received the orders of Government to call upon you to give security to proceed to England, in such ship, and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that you have no license or authority to remain in India. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. H. STEPHENSON, Company's Solicitor.*

To this I replied, by recapitulating all the circumstances under which I reached India: explaining, that when I left England I had no intention of coming thus far; that I neither knew the fact of any license being necessary, to give an Englishman the privilege of visiting any part of the king's dominions; nor even, had I known this fact, should I have applied for it, as I considered Malta the boundary of my voyage. I therefore asked the Governor's indulgence to remain in India, under the special license which he had the power to grant, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors in England should be known; and, in addition to this public demand, the greatest private interest was used to obtain the indulgence required. But the orders of the Directors in England were so peremptory, commanding the instant banishment of any individual, however useful or honourable his pursuits, who ventured to set his foot in India without a license, that the Governor dared not depart from them. This indulgence was accordingly refused: but, in an interview which I afterwards had with the Governor, Sir Evan Nepean, he himself said to me, 'My dear sir, what a pity it is that you are not an American—and I think you might very well pass for one—for then you might remain in India, and visit any part of it, without license from England, or even leave from me.' To show also that this my first banishment from India, and deprivation of a very honourable and lucrative command, in the service of an independent prince, which any American, French, or other foreign officer might enter without the power of the English to hinder, was not occasioned by any supposed hostility on my part to the India Company, or by any thing objectionable in my character or views, I shall subjoin the whole of the letter of the Governor of Bombay to his Chief Secretary. This letter was written in reply to the secretary's application on my behalf for permission to return to England by way of Egypt, as I had already been refused permission to go by way of Bengal, which I had wished, as the most expeditious of the two; It is as follows:

'DEAR WARDEN,—I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route. But I have an objection to the allowing him to go to Bengal, or to any other part of India, being determined to discourage all attempts which may be made by persons to settle in India without the license of the Company. To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection. On the contrary, he appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man: and I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's license, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea. Your's, &c. E. NEPEAN.'

I was accordingly, without the least fault alleged against me, but even with these eulogies bestowed on my character and my views, punished with the deprivation of an honourable command, the loss of a certain fortune from this lucrative service, (which my licensed successor actually realised, to the extent of three lacs of rupees, or 30,000l. sterling, in three years,) and subjected to transportation, as if my very touch were sufficient to contaminate a land—which we Englishmen call our own, as being won with the blood and treasure of our countrymen, and under the protection of our national flag—while foreigners alone are free in it, and every Englishman is virtually a slave!†

I returned to Egypt in company with Dr. Benjamin Babington,‡ by a second voy-

* Brother of the Banker, Rowland Stephenson, whose frauds and escape have lately excited so much attention; but, unlike this brother, a most upright and honourable man.

† The whole of the official correspondence relating to these transactions will be found at length, in the Appendix to the First Volume of 'The Oriental Herald,' p. 3 to 5.

‡ See his evidence as to this voyage in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. xi. p. 405.

age through the Red Sea, in which I collected ample materials for a new hydrographical chart of all its coasts; and communicated the result of my expedition to the British merchants at Alexandria. It was then resolved to obtain from Mohammed Ali the securities which the Indian merchants desired; and accordingly, a Commercial Treaty was entered into, between the Pasha, the British Consul, and myself, each of whom pledged himself to certain engagements, calculated to afford reciprocal protection and profit.*

As this was considered to clothe me with a new character, and invest me with new powers, it was agreed that I should proceed again to India, as the ambassador or envoy of Mohammed Ali, the viceroy of Egypt: being made the bearer of letters and commissions from him to the Government of India, as well as of this tripartite treaty to its merchants. I accordingly left Alexandria in the close of the year 1815, for the coast of Syria,† landed at Bairout, proceeded by Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Jaffa, to Jerusalem;—was compelled, by various circumstances, but more especially the disturbed state of the country, to traverse nearly the whole of Palestine, and the countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, the Hauran, and the Decapolis;—reached Damascus;—passed several weeks in the agreeable and hospitable society of Lady Hester Stanhope;—visited Baalbeck, Lebanon, Tripoly, Antioch, the Orontes, and Aleppo.‡ From thence I proceeded into Mesopotamia; crossed the Euphrates at Bir; visited Orfah, near Haran, the Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch, and Edessa of the Greeks; journeyed to Diarbekr, or the Black City, in the heart of Asia Minor; from thence to Mardin on the mountains; and by the Great Desert of Sinjar to Moosul on the Tigris; inspected the Ruins of Nineveh, Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia;—made extensive researches on the Ruins of Babylon, identified the Hanging Gardens, and the Palace, and discovered a portion of the ancient Wall; ascended to the summit of the Tower of Babel, now still erect in the Plain of Shinaar, and at length reposed in the celebrated City of Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris.§

After a short stay here I proceeded into Persia, crossing the chain of Mount Zagros, and going by Kermanshah to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana; Ispahan, the most magnificent of all the Oriental cities; the ruins of Persepolis; and by Shiraz and Shapoor to Bushire. At this port I embarked in an East India Company's ship, of war, bound on an expedition against the Wahabees, the Arab pirates of the Persian Gulph; visited their port at Ras-el-Khyma; went on shore with the Commodore of the squadron, and acted as his Arabian interpreter; assisted afterwards in the bombardment of the town; and finally reached Bombay at the end of 1816, having been nearly twelve months in performing this long and perilous journey.||

That such a succession of voyages and travels should be full of danger, as well as

* The original Arabic version of this treaty is in the possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P., and the French version of it will be found in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. iv. p. 505.

† It is here that my published Travels first commence, in the volume entitled 'Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead,' beginning at Alexandria, and ending at Nazareth. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Hastings, and comprises 553 quarto pages, with a Portrait and 28 engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions, Plans, and Maps. The Preface to this contains a detailed account of my track.

‡ This concludes the second volume, entitled 'Travels among the Arab Tribes, inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine.' It is dedicated to Dr. Babington, and comprises 679 quarto pages, and 28 Engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions and Map. In the Appendix to this Volume is contained all the documents and correspondence relating to the controversy with 'The Quarterly Review,' the Indian Government, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Murray, and the elder and younger Mr. Banks.

§ This concludes the third Volume, entitled 'Travels in Mesopotamia,' which is dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Hester Stanhope, and comprises 578 pages, and 27 Engravings, besides the Plans and Views of the Ruins of Babylon, and the Map. It may be mentioned here, that this work having been read by Mr. James Keeling, an extensive manufacturer of porcelain at the Hanley Potteries in Staffordshire, he was so pleased with the scriptural illustrations it contained, and with the Engravings with which the Work was embellished, that he formed the design of making a beautiful Dinner Service, to be ornamented by the Views in Mesopotamia, which he brought to great perfection, and presented me with the first set sent from his manufactory. The Appendix to this volume contains the issue of the trial of Mr. Banks; a verbatim report of which will be found in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. xi. p. 375.

|| This terminates the fourth Volume, entitled 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' which is dedicated to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P., comprises 545 pages, and is illustrated with an Equestrian Portrait in the costume of the East, 26 Engravings, and a Map. The Preface to this explains the circumstances under which this Volume went through the Press; and which are probably without a parallel in the whole history of literary labours.

incident, may be easily imagined: but I purposely abstain from a recital of them, which would lead, indeed, to a volume of itself. It may be sufficient to say, that storms, plagues, shipwreck, battle, imprisonment, hunger, thirst, sickness, nakedness, and want, had been my frequent portion; and that there was scarcely any form under which human misery could present itself, in which I had not encountered it: or scarcely any pomp, pleasure, honour, or distinction, which mortal could enjoy, that I had not witnessed, and occasionally shared in; having in all this weary pilgrimage, invariably found the name of AN ENGLISHMAN, wherever it was safe to assume it, a passport and a claim to every favour and protection that the public authorities of other nations could afford, till I reached what I had hitherto regarded as a part of my own country—INDIA; where I found this proud name the badge and symbol of every thing that was debased and enslaved—an Englishman alone being there subject to banishment and ruin, without trial, without a hearing, without even a reason assigned, merely because he is an Englishman; while foreigners of every other country are entitled to the protection of the laws, and cannot be touched but through the medium of a Court and a Jury,—a privilege of which all Englishmen are deprived!

The issue of my second mission to Bombay was not more successful in bringing about the wished-for trade between India and Egypt, than the former; and having by this time, through the intervention of my friend and fellow-traveller from India, Dr. Babington, who left me in Egypt, and proceeded to England, obtained the Company's license to remain in their territories, (which was sent out to me in Bombay,) I resumed the command of the Imaum of Muscat's frigate, from which I was before displaced; his Mohammedan agent having been indignant at what even he considered the tyranny of the Indian government, and pledged himself to reinstate me in the command, if I ever returned to India to accept it. But the three lucrative voyages to China, which I was to have performed, had in the mean time been accomplished by another, and his fortune made. The ship was now destined for the Persian Gulf, whither I sailed in her; and after visiting Muscat and Bussorah, I returned with a successful result, to Bombay.†

From hence I proceeded down the coast of Malabar, touching at Tellicherry, Calicut, Mahee, and Cochín; Colombo and Point de Galle, in Ceylon; up the coast of Coromandel, touching at Covelong, Madras, Vizagapatam, and Bimlipatam; and at length reached Calcutta in June, 1818.

Here I found that orders had reached from the Imaum of Muscat, to whom the frigate under my command belonged, directing her to proceed to the coast of Zanzibar, in Africa, to give convoy to several of his vessels there engaged in procuring slaves, as well as to convey some of these unhappy beings in my own,—a service in which, had the prospect of fortune been ten times as brilliant as it was, my abhorrence of slavery would not permit me to engage; and accordingly rather than acquire riches from such a source, I resigned the command, and with it all the prospects of competency and ease which it had hitherto promised me.

At this period I became acquainted with Mr. John Palmer, of Calcutta, who is designated, with great justice, the Prince of Merchants in the East, who holds the same rank in India as the Barings in England, and whom no man ever knew without loving as well as revering. He it was who first suggested the idea of my having talents for literary and political life, for which I ought to relinquish that of the sea; and this impression receiving considerable strength from the very flattering attention paid me by the Marquis of Hastings, the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and indeed all the men distinguished for their rank or learning in India, I yielded to the general solicitation, and consented to undertake the editorship of a public journal in Calcutta, to be conducted on the liberal principles which then characterised the brilliant administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and with which every feeling of my heart was in perfect accordance. The materials for this journal were purchased for 30,000 rupees, or 3,000*l.* sterling. It was issued; obtained almost instantaneous popularity; and, within three years after its first establishment, I brought it to produce a net profit of about 8,000*l.* sterling per annum. During the whole of this period, it supported, with a degree of zeal which was sometimes interpreted as adulation, the measures and

† A short extract from the description of Muscat, composed on this voyage, will be found in Mr. Pringle's elegant Annual, the 'Friendship's Offering,' for the present year, 1829; the full account is incorporated in the 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia;' and the account of Bussorah which is given at length in the same volume, will be found also in 'The Oriental Herald' for January, 1829, vol. xx. p. 36.

policy of the existing government, which was that of Lord Hastings, who, contrary to the views of his more narrow-minded colleagues, the civil servants of the East India Company, had removed the Censorship from the Press; was disposed to elevate the condition of the Natives; to permit the settlement of English gentlemen of capital and character in the interior; and in every other manner to promote the interests both of his own country, and of that over which he ruled. The support of this noble and enlightened policy of Lord Hastings, the representative of his Majesty and the British Legislature in India,—and the fact of my having sold one-fourth of my Paper for 10,000*l.* sterling, in 100 shares of 100*l.* each, which were purchased by the principal merchants, and civil and military officers in the Company's service in India, and which, therefore, was the highest mark of honour any public writer could receive,—was the very cause of all the hatred felt against myself, and hostility to 'The Calcutta Journal,' which I conducted, by the more bigoted adherents of the Company's system, then forming his council. Accordingly, there arose perpetual efforts, on the part of the latter, to obtain my arbitrary banishment from India, for supporting the views professed and entertained by the head of the government himself; but he, like a true English nobleman, always referred them to the *law*, as the protecting power of the ruler and the subject; and declared, that while Providence continued him at the head of affairs, he would never suffer any one to deprive a British subject of that shield which was purposely created to protect him from the exercise of arbitrary power.

During the whole of Lord Hastings's government, therefore, which lasted for ten years, no arbitrary banishment of any Englishman, for opinions expressed through the press, ever took place. The law was there, as it is in England, sufficient to repress all evils arising from this source; and notwithstanding this perfect freedom, never was the empire more tranquil, never more prosperous, even according to the testimony of his enemies; for he was the first Governor-General India had ever seen, who left the country in a state of perfect repose, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Himalaya to Ceylon, with ten millions sterling of surplus revenue in the treasury, the prosperity marking every branch of the public service. During all this long and eventful period, in which the law had been resorted to by the enemies of his pacific administration, no single conviction for libel, or any other offence, had ever been recorded against me; though I had obtained convictions against my calumniators, (for no man ever opposed bad measures without being calumniated by those whose unjust gains were endangered,) and was even obliged to meet my opponents in the field;* yet, no sooner had the Marquis of Hastings quitted India—which his health obliged him to do, before his permanent successor, Lord Amherst, arrived—than his temporary *locum tenens*, Mr. John Adam,—who, being one of the oldest of the East India Company's servants, and the last that held the office of Censor of the Press, abolished by Lord Hastings, was the most deeply imbued with all its despotic principles of rule—determined to seize the first possible moment of banishing me from the country, and doing for himself what he had before often urged the Marquis of Hastings to do in vain. I had already heard, and indeed was enabled to prove, his declaration, made before Lord Hastings left India, that if he ever obtained the seat of power but for a day, his first act should be to banish me; and I exercised a proportionate degree of caution; so much so, that my enemies, whose great object it was to goad me into indiscretion, taunted me with the line from Shakspeare,

'High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect;'
and provided also a very easy remedy for the Government, by exclaiming, in the language of the same poet,
'Off with his head!—So much for Buckingham.'

Accordingly, the time of Mr. Adam's temporary governorship fast drawing to a close, and the impression being, that if he did not hasten to do his deed of destruction, the dagger would pass away from his grasp, the occasion was seized to do it instantly, and this was the feeble pretence on which it was attempted to be justified.

A Presbyterian Minister of the Scotch Church, Dr. Bryce, who was the head of that Church in India, had been for many years the Editor of a violent newspaper, entitled the 'Asiatic Mirror,' which had been greatly injured by the superior success of 'The Calcutta Journal,' to his very natural mortification and regret. He had subse-

* See a detailed account of the meeting with one of the public servants of the Indian Government, here alluded to, in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. i. p. 61.

quently connected himself with a second paper, called 'The John Bull,' set up by the functionaries of the Indian Government for the avowed purpose of defaming me: and in which a series of libels on my private character appeared, for which I obtained judgment against it, even in an Indian Court of Justice, with large damages: the Judge on the bench declaring, at the time of passing sentence, that 'the libels were so atrocious, as scarcely to be thought of without horror.*' To show upon what principles this Journal was conducted, it will be sufficient to quote a single passage of the writer of the calumnies directed against my private character, which his Letters in that Journal, under the signature of 'A Friend to Mr. Bankes,' contained. In this he openly avows, that, being unable to overturn, by reason, my arguments, (in favour of free trade, free settlement, and free publication,) and finding that my sentiments derived great weight from the excellence of my moral character, he thought it fair to *destroy* that character, in order to weaken the opinions which reposed on it! The passage is so atrocious, that no one would believe it without its being produced. It is as follows:

'The phenomenon of a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a censor, is but new in India; and it was manifest that, in this country, such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me, I beheld the evils that might be feared actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves into the very strongholds of our power, and possibly paving the way for an event, which the enemies of our power have hitherto attempted in vain. Entertaining these views, the conductor of such a Press became, in my eyes, a PUBLIC ENEMY; and resting his power, as he did, as well on his CHARACTER as his PRINCIPLES, his reputation became a fair and a legitimate object of attack, and its OVERTHROW a subject of honest triumph to every lover of his country!†'

I will not weaken the force of so unprincipled and demoniacal a doctrine as this, by a single word of comment.

It was almost immediately after this that Dr. Bryce was rewarded by Mr. Adam with an appointment to an office of considerable emolument, but the duties of which were the most unsuitable to a clergyman that could be imagined, and such as required very close attention, although the same individual had on a previous occasion given up the unpaid Secretaryship to a Bible Society on the plea of wanting time to perform its duties! The appointment was even announced by the local Government, in an Extraordinary Gazette, as if it were a triumph or a victory; and certainly, the unusual nature both of the fact and its mode of announcement created considerable sensation, of mirth in some, and of sorrow and alarm in others. Being rather actuated by the former than by the latter class of feelings, I was disposed to view it, and to treat it, in a playful light; and as this was the article for which I was a second time banished without trial from India, (the reader will remember the first from Bombay,) and as, from our rooted notions of justice, the bare fact of any man having been banished from any country, leads all who hear it to *infer* that the individual really *deserved* his punishment, or it would not have been inflicted, it is very important that it should be given entire. It is rather long, but it will dispel the fears of many; and show them that from the portion of my writings in India for which I was made to suffer the loss of 100,000*l.* in prospect, banishment as a felon, and the deprivation of an actual income from the labours of my own pen, of 8,000*l.* sterling a-year,—there was, at least, no probability of the empire being overturned, which is the only danger that could justify such severe and arbitrary punishment. The following is the article in question:—

'Appendix Extraordinary to the last Government Gazette.

'During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good City of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an Appendix to the Government Gazette of the morning was issued in a separate form, and coming in the shape of a Gazette Extraordinary, was eagerly seized, even at that inconvenient hour, in the hope of its containing some intelligence of great public importance. Some, in whose bosoms this hope had been most strongly excited, may, perhaps, have felt disappointment; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them all the remainder of the evening.

'The Reverend Gentleman, named below, who we perceive by the Index of that useful publication, the Annual Directory, is a Doctor of Divinity, and Moderator of

* See this trial and sentence in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. i. pp. 348. 352.
† 'Oriental Herald,' vol. iv. p. 511.

the Kirk Session, and who, by the favour of the higher powers, now combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has no doubt been selected for the arduous duties of his new place from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interests. Such a clerk as is here required, to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him, should be a competent judge of the several articles of pasteboard, sealing-wax, ink-stands, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape, and leather; and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationers'-hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the Reverend Gentleman, no doubt, possesses in a more eminent degree than any other person who could be found to do the duties of such an office; and though at first sight such information may seem to be incompatible with a theological education, yet we know that India abounds with instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.

'In Scotland, we believe, the duties of a Presbyterian Minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on the days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold, and encouraging the timid, in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian Clergyman were to do his duty in India, he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year, in the zealous and faithful discharge of those pious duties which ought more especially to engage his devout attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection, indeed, who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves for many months without a pastor at all: and even when the shepherd was among them, he had abundant time to edit a controversial newspaper, (long since defunct,) and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses, and flatteries, that were current at that time. He has continued to display this eminently active, if not holy disposition, up to the present period; and, according to the maxim, 'to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away,' this Reverend Doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of Divinity or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected, all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape, of the Honourable East India Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that no drafts are given on their Treasury for gum that won't stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal.

'Whether the late discussions that have agitated both the wise and the foolish of this happy country from the Burrumpooter to the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to the confines of Tartary, have had an influence in hastening the consummation so devoutly wished, we cannot presume to determine. We do not profess to know any thing of the Occult Sciences; and being equally ignorant of all secret influences, whether of the planets of heaven or the satellites of earth, we must content ourselves, as faithful chroniclers of the age, with including in our records, the important document issued under the circumstances we have described.'

(Here followed a Table of the articles of Stationery required, and the quantities of each; at the end of which was the following paragraph, as it stood in the Government Gazette, published by authority.)

"*Conditions*:—1st. The quality of the Stationery to be equal to the musters now open for inspection at the Stationery office.—2d. The articles required for the expenditure of every month to be delivered on or before the 28th day of the month which precedes it, and paid for by an order on the general treasury for the amount delivered.—3d. The proposals of contract to be accompanied by a written document signed by a respectable person, acknowledging himself (if the terms are accepted) to be responsible for the performance of the contractor's engagement, and engaging, in the event of deficient deliveries, to make good the value of these, together with a penalty of 50 per cent. on the amount of them.—4th. The Clerk to the Committee of Stationery to be at liberty to reject any part of the Stationery which may appear objectionable to him.

By order of the Committee of Stationery,
Stationery Office, Feb. 4, 1823.

JAMES BRYCE, Clerk Com. Sty."

This, then, was my crime! and my punishment was more severe than the law inflicts even upon felons; for their property is not always confiscated, nor are they ever denied the right of a trial; while I, and the wife of my bosom, who had just joined me in

India, after a separation of ten long years, from the period of my leaving her in England on my first voyage to Malta, were turned out of house and home, at a moment's warning; a princely fortune destroyed; an abode of happiness changed into one of mourning; and the brand of infamy, as a banished man, placed upon my forehead, for the finger of scorn to point at, and for every man to *infer*, from the mere fact itself, that I was a fire-brand, dangerous to the peace of the country, and *therefore* ejected from it by violence!

Whether my offence was of a nature to deserve this treatment, let the reader judge. But what will be his indignation when he learns that although, when we reached England,—(finding our children embarked, and almost in the act of sailing to join us in India, so sudden was the decree, that there was not even time to countermand our orders for their coming out to what they innocently deemed a shelter and a home,)—the India Company and the Board of Control had both concurred in the impropriety of the appointment I had so gently satirized, and had even ordered it to be instantly annulled; yet, when I applied, on this ground, for leave to return, I was refused, by both, this reasonable permission. The doctrine maintained at the India House, was, that their servants abroad, even if occasionally wrong, *must* be supported; and the doctrine at the Board of Control was, that as it was not a question of patronage, the India Company must be supported *also*. Of all this, then, I was the victim: and even when I asked, a few months afterwards, on hearing of proceedings against my property in India, too atrocious to be believed, and too long to be detailed, for leave merely to go to India for a few weeks to wind up my affairs, pay my debts, receive those due to me, and then quit the country for ever, these unfeeling tyrants (can any man designate the authors of such cruelty by any more appropriate term?) refused me even this: so that, to the total wreck of all I left behind, amounting to at least 40,000*l.*, was added the accumulation of debts on various proceedings taken in my absence, purposely to increase my embarrassments, amounting to upwards of 10,000*l.* more; thus plunging an innocent and amiable family into almost irretrievable misery, for, at most, the indiscretion of a father, who ventured to call in question the propriety of that which the highest authorities of the country no sooner heard of, than they denounced and overturned!!

My return to India, where all my friends and hopes of fortune lay, being thus rendered impossible, I determined to use the information which Providence had thrown in my way, to benefit, as far as my humble powers would admit, my fellow-countrymen here, as well as my fellow-men and fellow-subjects in the East. I have accordingly employed the last five years of my life in conducting *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, which has been almost exclusively devoted to Eastern affairs:—in establishing *THE SPHYNX*, a European Political Journal, to which I applied a legacy of 5,000 rupees, sent me from India by an individual whom I had never either seen or heard from before, but who left it in his will as a tribute of respect to my public character and principles, and as a mark of gratitude for the benefit which he believed my writings to have produced in India;*—and in following up the successful career of this, by *THE ATHENÆUM*, a Journal devoted chiefly to Literature, Science, and the Arts. In addition to these, which have all been crowned with marked approbation and success, I have also published four quarto volumes of *Travels in the East*, each of which has been received with favour by the literary world; and have succeeded in bringing to a satisfactory issue, my legal proceedings against Mr. Henry Banks, the late Member for Corfe Castle, and Mr. W. J. Banks, the late Member for Cambridge; and setting myself right, I hope, with all the reading and reflecting part of the world.

The time is now come, therefore, when I have resolved on following up my writings by the personal Tour which I had always purposed, and which, indeed, I stated my intention of undertaking some years ago, in order to communicate to others that local knowledge of which my peculiar duties and pursuits have given me possession: and to rouse the public attention to the benefits which must result to this country, as well as to every part of the Eastern World, by extending the commercial intercourse between them. I enter on this task under the most favourable auspices, and, as far as zeal and determined perseverance can effect, I hope, by the blessing of God, to bring it to as auspicious a close. If there are those who think that in so doing I am actuated by vindictive feelings towards the East India Company, I cannot wonder at their receiving

* See the details of this in the first Number of '*The Sphinx*,' for July, 1827; and in '*The Oriental Herald*,' vol. xiv. p. 391. 394.

such an impression; for, if ever man had cause for vengeance against them, that man is myself. But I confess (let those doubt who may) that I would not willingly hurt a hair of the head of any man living, not even of my greatest enemy: and as for the East India Company, it is composed of 4,000 or 5,000 individuals, including old men, old women, and young children, and has within it as much of merit and innocence as any other body of superannuated stockholders,—for the great mass of them are nothing more:—while some of the warmest and steadiest friends I ever had the happiness to possess, are members of that body, or holders of its stock; but who, though members, deprecate, as severely as I can do, the conduct which I have faithfully described.

It is not against any man or any men that my labours are directed, but against the system, which is unproductive of good even to those who uphold it, and fraught with all manner of evil to those who are not of that number. To this system I was as determined an enemy on the first day of my setting foot in India as I am now: and this I never concealed. I could not have been influenced by vindictive motives before I received any injury from the India Company, yet the views I maintain now, were those which I maintained then; no change whatever has taken place in my sentiments on those subjects, except that the longer I have lived, the more I have seen; and the more extensive and more accurate my information has become during the last ten years that I have been engaged almost exclusively in increasing my stock of knowledge from every accessible source, the more firmly have I been convinced of the truth of my position, that Free Trade to India, China, and the Oriental World in general, would be productive of incalculable benefit to all the countries engaged in it, and of danger or injury to none.

I have now, then—though I fear most imperfectly—endeavoured to show, that when I address my countrymen on the subject of shipping and commerce, I have some claim to their attention, as a seaman and a merchant; that when I describe to them the antiquities and productions of other seas and countries, I speak of tracts that I have traversed, and objects that I have seen; and that, even on questions of policy and government, as relates to the Eastern World at least, I am not altogether unworthy of being heard, after supporting the liberal policy, and enjoying, as I had the happiness to enjoy, the good opinion of the greatest and best Governor-General India ever saw, after conducting, for five years, with the greatest success, a public Journal in India, supported and patronised by the most celebrated of the civil and military servants of the Government itself; and editing, for the same period, a public Journal in England, THE ORIENTAL HERALD, which is still eagerly sought after in every part of that country, and well known and esteemed among the statesmen and legislators of this.

If these credentials are deemed satisfactory, I shall rejoice at having been prompted to produce them; and I ask only the fair and candid interpretation of whatever appeared in confidence they may seem to evince. For myself, I feel that I have a claim to be heard; and having that feeling, it is but consistent with the acknowledged frankness of my earliest profession, which still influences my nature, that I should freely say so, whatever imputations of weakness, or of undue confidence may follow such a declaration. My sense of public duty is as clear as it is strong: its dictates I shall therefore continue firmly to follow; but the issue is with a Higher Power—whose blessing I implore.

4, Brunswick Place,
Regent's Park, London.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

LIVERPOOL.

AFTER this announcement, I proceeded to Liverpool, where I met, as I expected, a very cordial reception, from all classes of the wealthy and intelligent inhabitants: and there, for the first time, I determined to make the experiment of giving Extempore Descriptions of the Eastern World. They were announced as Lectures on the Countries of the East, to be given in the Music Hall of the City, and from the first were most respectably attended. Some apprehensions were felt by my friends, that this being my first attempt at a public and extempore delineation of scenes and events so varied as it was my intention to make them, I might experience some embarrassment in the execution: but I felt such inward consciousness of strength and confidence, that I was never more self-possessed than when I first opened my lips before the large assembly that attended me. The result was even more successful than I had ventured to

hope: all parties seemed pleased; and in addition to the uniform and enthusiastic approbation of the audiences, the eulogies of the press on both sides of politics, and the union of parties not usually co-operating in any public undertaking, produced by my last lecture at Liverpool, was thus spoken of by the leading papers of that City:—

‘In company with a very numerous and respectable auditory, we participated in the unequivocal satisfaction of witnessing, on Monday night last, the delivery of Mr. Buckingham’s first lecture, introductory of that subject to which in our last publication we directed the attentive consideration of the public. Mr. Buckingham’s second lecture took place last night; and on both occasions his talents and experience were successfully exercised. The manner of this gentleman confers additional interest on the subject-matter of his discourse, and he himself is a striking instance of the union of qualities most to be desired—the *simplex munditiis*. His style is peculiarly suited to the delivery of lectures, intended to be rendered familiar and accessible. It may be described as conversational oratory. It is complete delineation. We wander with the traveller, and scarce need a chart to guide us on our way; we roam with him by the banks of Nilus, we descend into the Catacombs, or calculate the height of a pyramid; and, as the Orientalist (so to call him) unfolds the stores of his enlarged conception, we take possession of his treasures, and imagination bodies forth, with the fidelity of a diagram, scenes which, so far as we are concerned, may almost be termed visionary.’—*Gore’s Liverpool Advertiser*, Jan. 8.

‘Mr. Buckingham’s lectures, it gives us pleasure to observe, have been attended by audiences of which, both for numbers and respectability, he may justly be proud, and the applause wrung from them by the pleasing popular style of his delivery, must have proved to him an abundant source of gratification. Mr. Buckingham deserves the thanks of the community for his labours; for they are directed to effect one of the greatest and most beneficial reforms, to advance the prosperity of his own country, and to confer inestimable blessings on countless millions of his fellow creatures. The exertions of Mr. Buckingham have already produced good results in this town: men of all parties and sects have united in this one object; and a requisition is now in course of signature to our worthy chief magistrate, requesting him to call a public meeting for the consideration of this most important question.’—*Liverpool Chronicle*, Jan. 10.

‘We have seen with very great satisfaction the cordial reception which Mr. Buckingham, the public-spirited advocate of free trade to the East, has met with during the last week, from all classes of the inhabitants of this town, and especially from the most active and enlightened of our merchants. His lectures on Wednesday and Friday were attended by even larger audiences than that on Monday, and on Friday evening the body of our Music Hall was filled almost to overflowing. We have never, on any occasion, seen larger or more respectable audiences at lectures in this town; and the spirit manifested was one of the most cordial pleasure at the enlightened views and generous sentiments of Mr. Buckingham, mingled with astonishment at the infatuated policy of the East India Company. He said that he hoped again to have the honour of appearing before them on this subject—an announcement which the audience received with three loud and distinct rounds of applause. Mr. Buckingham expressed his deep and lively sense of the extreme kindness which he had experienced in Liverpool, and concluded his lecture amidst enthusiastic expressions of approbation from the audience. The Mayor here came forward, and said, that he could not permit the meeting to separate, without attempting to express the obligations under which Mr. Buckingham had laid the inhabitants of Liverpool, by his exertions to give them information, and to rouse them to activity on the subject of the India and China Trade. He therefore begged leave to move,

“That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Buckingham, for his exertions in exposing the injurious effects consequent on a continuance of the monopoly of the East India Company: and that this meeting cannot permit Mr. Buckingham to leave Liverpool without expressing their best wishes for his success in the towns which he is about to visit.” (*Loud cheers.*)—*Liverpool Times*, Jan. 13.

After being made a sharer of the cordial and splendid hospitalities of the principal families of Liverpool, and passing there a week of great happiness, I returned to London.

MANCHESTER.

EARLY in February, I set out again for Manchester, the vast wealth, productive powers, and extensive population of which, gave it an equal interest in the commercial part of the question with Liverpool itself. There also I met with the same cordial reception—the same public interest—and the same private hospitalities. In short, if there was any difference, I think the people of Manchester took a still deeper interest in the literary attractions of the subject, and quite as deep an interest in the commercial branch of it. The audiences at Liverpool had never exceeded 400, while at Manchester they exceeded 600, and even at a small village, Duckinfield, to which I went on a spare evening, by the invitation of three gentlemen residing there, an audience of about 200 was collected at a day's notice, without any further announcement than a mere written sheet of paper, sent in circulation from the house to receive names; and these remained for nearly four hours, listening with unbroken attention to what so rivetted their minds, that at the close, the universal regret was, that it could not be prolonged or continued. The following are the terms in which the Lectures delivered at Manchester were spoken of in the papers of the day:—

‘Mr. Buckingham has brought forward the inhabitants of Liverpool, as one man, to oppose the continuance of the East India Monopoly, and we have every reason to believe that he has produced an equally powerful sensation here. His lectures have been attended by most of the leading and influential men of the town and neighbourhood; and, large as the room is in which they were delivered, it was every day most interesting account. The second part of his lecture, which comprehended Pales-Mount of Olives, of the lakes of Genesareth, of the fertile fields of Bashan, of the valley of Jehosaphat, of the land of Uz, and many other places mentioned in Scripture, and in which, in every particular, his experience bore out the Scriptural account, even in the very minutest and apparently immaterial circumstances, was listened to with breathless attention. The lecture lasted for three hours; and we believe there was not one person present but would have been happy to have listened for a much greater length of time to the interesting details.’—*Manchester Times*, Feb. 7.

‘We must for the present, content ourselves with an expression of what we are sure is the universal sense of those who have had the gratification of attending Mr. Buckingham's course, the deep obligation under which all the commercial interests of the kingdom will lie to that gentleman, for his zealous and most useful efforts to direct public attention to East India affairs. Throughout his lectures, Mr. Buckingham, by his clearness of arrangement, his felicity of illustration, his varied information, by the remarkable turn for observation of which he has given evidence, by his absolute *plethora* of matter (for he never hesitates or loses the thread of his discourse for an instant;) and, though these are in some, but not all, respects, of less consequence, by his very agreeable manners, his distinct articulation and pleasing delivery, has secured a very high place in the regard of his auditors, who have, we have little doubt, derived much more information from him, on the topics of which he treated, than they could have derived by the dedication of the same time to the same object in any other manner. From the interesting nature of the facts detailed in these lectures, as well as from the lively and agreeable manner in which they were communicated, the whole course was in the highest degree interesting, and gave unmixed pleasure and satisfaction to the most numerous, the most respectable, and the most attentive audiences that ever attended a course of lectures in this town.

‘We had not heard Mr. Buckingham's first lecture to its conclusion before we were satisfied, that, great as was the pleasure he was giving to his audience here, valuable as was the instruction he was communicating to them, highly useful as his ample store of commercial and political knowledge relative to the East would be deemed in whatever town he might present himself, there was yet another audience—one in the metropolis—before whom it was far more important that he should be enabled to appear and to speak. The time is rapidly approaching when the discussion of East India affairs must be commenced in Parliament: the Company are sure to have their advocates in that assembly urged by almost every inducement that can animate the

exertions, and shape the conduct of man, to support their cause; it is of the highest consequence that the public also should have theirs. Forty years ago, the paid tools of even some of the Native Sovereigns in India found their way into the House of Commons. Shall the door which was opened to them be closed against an energetic, talented, and high-principled advocate of free trade? That Mr. Buckingham should hold a seat in the House of Commons during the discussions on the East India Company's Charter, appears to us an object of extreme importance. Who is better fitted by his ready and impressive elocution, but still more by his extensive knowledge of the commercial capabilities of the East, and by the personal experience he has had as to the character and wants of the Natives, to plead effectually on behalf of free-trade and colonization? But still more, who is at once so well qualified, and so well disposed, to cross-examine the Company's witnesses, to detect and expose false testimony, or to extract, even from his opponents, unequivocal evidence in favour of his case? These are considerations which we would impress on the commercial public wherever our journal is read. They are, it is true, very inadequately represented in Parliament; but they can, if they please, easily secure a seat for Mr. Buckingham. If they do not, we think they will not do justice to that gentleman; but we think also, what in a national point of view is far more important, that they will not do justice to themselves.’—*Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 7.

BIRMINGHAM.

AFTER returning again to London, for the remainder of the month, I left town for Birmingham early in March, and there also my reception was such as would have been felt perhaps to be more favourable than it could possibly seem, after the enthusiasm of Liverpool and Manchester. The Lectures were there delivered in the Theatre of the Philosophical Society, and were attended by the principal inhabitants of the town: but 300 auditors was the greatest number the space would accommodate, and it was entirely filled. The report of the termination of the Course in the Birmingham Gazette, contained the following notice of the manner in which it was received:—

‘Mr. Buckingham delivered his supplementary lecture on the state of the Trade to the East, at the rooms of the Philosophical Society, on Monday last. Occupying upwards of three hours and a half in the delivery, it becomes impossible to do more than enumerate some of the prominent heads under which his most able and elaborate inquiry was pursued.—At the termination of the lecture, the President of the Philosophical Society, the Rev. John Corrie, rose and addressed the audience to the following effect:—

“‘I understand that at Liverpool and Manchester, where, as you have heard from him, Mr. Buckingham has been giving lectures, the audience at both places, at the conclusion of the lectures, expressed their approbation by a vote of thanks. Permit me to ask, if it would agreeable to you that we should follow their example? The very lively interest these lectures have excited—the numerous and increasing audiences by which they have been attended—and especially the feelings you have so repeatedly and warmly manifested this morning, seem to leave no room for doubt or hesitation. I venture, therefore, without further introduction, to propose that ‘the respectful and cordial thanks of this assembly be presented to Mr. Buckingham, in testimony of our admiration of the very able and deeply interesting course of lectures which he has now concluded.’ Circumstances compel me to be very brief in this address; but I trust you will permit me to gratify my own feelings, by stating that Mr. Buckingham is by far the most accomplished lecturer I have ever been my lot to hear. (*The concurrence of the audience in this opinion was testified by loud, repeated, and long continued applause.*) In regard to the lecture of this morning, which has fixed and delighted our attention for nearly four hours—which has combined all the resources of eloquence—facts—arguments—vivid description of the effects of different systems of civil and commercial policy—irony—wit—invective—in regard to this most brilliant and powerful discourse, I will only make one observation, and I am persuaded I shall give no offence to Mr. Buckingham, nor, I trust, to any of this audience, if I remind them of a circumstance which, some forty years ago, occurred in the House of Commons. It was at the conclusion of that memorable speech with which Mr. Sheridan introduced one of the charges against Warren Hastings, and which, by the great authorities of the day, was said to have equalled or surpassed all that had ever been heard or read of ancient or modern

eloquence—at the conclusion of that speech, which had enraptured, enchanted, overpowered the House, it was thought necessary to adjourn immediately, and come to no decision on the subject-matter of the speech in their excited and agitated state of feeling. Permit me to recommend a similar caution on the present occasion, and to express my hope, that, while you treasure in your memories a part, at least, of that endless variety of novel and curious information which has been so profusely spread before you—while that evidence which Mr. Buckingham has with such extraordinary ability stated and expressed—you would pause before you form any decided conclusion on that most important, I repeat it, *most important* topic, which was the great object of the lecture: whatever opinions you may ultimately entertain—whatever proceedings you may ultimately adopt, at least have the satisfaction of feeling confident they have not been the result of momentary excitement, but of cool, deliberate, and mature reflection.”

“The proposal was seconded by Joseph Walker, Esq. High Bailiff, or Chief Magistrate, of Birmingham, and the vote was passed amidst the most animated applause of the company.”—*Birmingham Gazette*, March 6.

BRISTOL.

From hence I proceeded direct to Bristol, where some difficulties were at first apprehended, in uniting the West Indians with those who wished a Free Trade to the East. By the aid of some kind friends, and the force of the cause itself, these apprehensions however gradually wore away; and although Bristol was at this period in a state of great excitement from the divided opinions of its society on the Catholic Relief Bill, then in its progress through Parliament, a small audience was collected, at first not exceeding 60 persons, which progressively increased, however, to nearly 600: exceeding Liverpool, almost equalling Manchester, and leading to a union of all parties and sects in one common object, in a way that had hardly ever been experienced for many years. The following from the Bristol papers will sufficiently evince the feeling that prevailed.

“Mr. Buckingham gave his supplementary lecture this morning to one of the most respectable audiences we ever saw assembled in the room. And, perhaps, never was an audience so entertained, or so delighted, not only by the vast information they received, but by the pleasing way in which it was conveyed.

“It would be vain in the confined limits of a weekly journal, to attempt to give any analysis of a lecture occupying upwards of four hours in its delivery; suffice it to say, the lecture exposed, in a very masterly manner, the monstrous abuses of the overgrown monopoly of Leadenhall Street, and pointed out the very great advantages which would accrue to this country by the extension of her commercial intercourse with India, and by the opening of the trade to China. The lecturer having impressed on the minds of his hearers in a most emphatic manner, the absolute necessity of union and co-operation in the great cause he advocated, sat down amidst much applause.

“At the conclusion of Mr. Buckingham’s last lecture, the applause was intense, and the cheering continued for several minutes. When it had subsided, the Mayor, John Cave, Esq., rose, and addressed Mr. Buckingham to the following effect:

“Sir, as the Chief Magistrate of the City of Bristol, I cannot suffer this numerous and respectable assembly to depart, without expressing, on my own behalf, as well as on theirs, our deep sense of the important service which you have rendered to us, and to our common country, by the able manner in which you have developed the evils of a system which you call upon us to assist in amending. I am sure, Sir, that I speak the unanimous sense of this assembly, when I say that the City of Bristol will give you their most cordial support, and will gladly unite with Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other great towns of the kingdom, in immediate steps to obtain a removal of the existing restrictions on our Commerce with the East. (Cheers.) For the entertainment and instruction conveyed to us in your animated and accurate descriptions of the several countries through which you have so delightfully led us, you are entitled to our warmest thanks, (cheers,) and for the still greater object of your present Lecture, which is to show the existing evils of our rule in the East, and point out the means of benefitting both this country and its empire in that quarter of the

world, you are entitled not merely to our thanks but our cordial co-operation; and that co-operation we will zealously and cheerfully accord. (Cheers.) I am persuaded, Sir, that such a cause, in the hands of such an advocate, must ultimately triumph; and I am confident that the City of Bristol will be always ready to hail your re-appearance within its walls with pleasure.

“In the name, Sir, of the citizens of Bristol, I tender you their cordial thanks and best wishes for your continued success in your public-spirited and patriotic career.”—*Bristol Journal*, March 27.

LEEDS.

From Bristol I went direct to Leeds, and there also my reception was most flattering. The principal manufacturers of this town having frequently supplied the Americans with goods for China, which could not be conveyed there in English vessels, except by the India Company, the subject had before engaged their attention, and a very strong feeling was manifested by all classes, as soon as my arrival, and the intended delivery of the Lectures were announced. What the issue was, may be gathered from the following testimonies given by the papers of the town itself.

“On Monday last Mr. Buckingham commenced his course of lectures on the countries of the East, in the Music Hall, in this town. All the lectures descriptive of those countries have now been delivered, and whether we judge of them from our own feelings, from the testimony of those with whom we have conversed, from the increasing numbers who have every day attended them, or from the strong and unequivocal expressions of pleasure and admiration with which they have been received, we have no hesitation in saying that they have been the most interesting and eloquent course of lectures that have ever been delivered in this town, or that we have ever had the pleasure of hearing, either here or in any other place. They have possessed every charm which eloquence and wit can communicate to the narration of the most interesting events, and the description of the most interesting scenes; and have not been more admirable for those qualities, than for the benevolence of heart and liberality of sentiment which they have every where displayed.”—*Leeds Mercury*, April 4.

“At the close of the last lecture, Benjamin Gott, Esq., one of the principal merchants of Leeds, rose and addressed the assembly as follows:

“Having been a witness of the intense interest manifested towards Mr. Buckingham by the largest and most respectable audiences that have ever been assembled at any delivery of lectures in this town; and seeing how these audiences have gone on increasing daily, until this Music Hall is filled, as I now behold it, to overflowing, I am sure I shall but speak the sentiments of every one present when I propose that the cordial thanks of this assembly be presented to Mr. Buckingham, for the high gratification he has afforded to us all, by his eloquent, animated, and accurate descriptions of the most interesting features of the Eastern World: and that in addition to our thanks we tender him our best wishes for his health, and continued success in the valuable services he is rendering to his country and to mankind.”

“This motion was seconded by William Aldham, Esq., merchant of Leeds, and was carried by acclamation, amidst the most enthusiastic applause.”—*Leeds Patriot*, April 9.

LONDON.

The course at Leeds was closed on the Saturday, April the 4th, at about eight o’clock, the concluding Lecture having lasted four hours: when, notwithstanding the continued labours of the week, the lectures being delivered every day consecutively, I stepped from the Lecture Room into the Mail, drove home, without stopping on the road, and after a journey of nearly 200 miles, was at the City of London Tavern, on Monday the 6th, to commence a course there at noon, for the Merchants of London. It required some firmness, however, to bear the change; for instead of the crowded Halls of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, and the enthusiastic plaudits of their brilliant and elegant assemblies, here was a frigid, as well as a small audience of nineteen individuals, and though upwards of 100*l.* had been expended

in advertising in all the London papers, in printing large and small bills, sending invitations by messengers, and every other device that could be thought of, the audience never exceeded fifty, during all the week that it continued! Nevertheless, the few who did attend, were at the end as loud and enthusiastic in their approbation as in the largest assemblies; and the following expression was given of the general feeling, by J. T. Rutt, Esq. of Clapton, who addressed the assembly as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—Before Mr. Buckingham leaves the situation which he has occupied so much to the instruction and highly rational entertainment of those who have listened to him, you will, I hope, allow me to propose to this respectable meeting, that we unite in an expression of our thanks and satisfaction. I will not venture to detain you another moment, but beg leave to submit to your acceptance the following Resolution :—That this meeting cannot separate without respectfully presenting to Mr. Buckingham, their grateful acknowledgements for the valuable information, so agreeably communicated in his lectures on the important and interesting objects of inquiry connected with the Eastern World, and for the patriotic zeal with which he has explained and recommended a system of wise and equitable national policy, under the extending operation of which, an intercourse with that too-long-neglected portion of the globe would eminently conduce to the advancement of the moral, political, and commercial interests of the British Empire."

The Resolution was seconded by J. Wilks, Esq., of Finsbury-square, in the following terms: "The proposition made by my venerable and intelligent friend is to me an agreeable surprise." It is a surprise, because completely unexpected; and agreeable because the respectful tribute it affords has been so amply deserved. For many years a proprietor of East India Stock, I have no hostility to the welfare of that Company, and, unconnected with commercial affairs, I am quite uninfluenced by the desire of gain; cheerfully, therefore, do I second a proposition which all who have attended this course of lectures will gladly support. I speak because it would be ungrateful to be silent; and because it is pleasant partly to repay the obligations conferred. Without adopting all the opinions Mr. Buckingham has avowed, and deprecating any alteration whereby the political power and patronage of India should become more absolutely vested in the Crown,—who has not been gratified to accompany Mr. Buckingham through the Eastern regions to which he has been our guide? Who has not been charmed by those accurate and vivid descriptions which no books can supply? Who, after treading with him in imagination the margin of the Ganges, the Jordan, and the Nile, will not eagerly tender to him their acknowledgments of praise? But he has yet more won my esteem by the intrepidity with which he has entered on his new career—by the liberal principles he illustrates as well as propounds—by his exposures of the evils of that commercial monopoly which India and Britain alike deplore—and by the solicitude he displays, that commerce, wealth, knowledge, freedom, religion, and happiness, should far more widely prevail. Therefore, mainly, I repeat, do I second this proposition; and as a patriot, a philanthropist, and a Christian, must wish him success."

Though somewhat discouraged by the slight attendance at the St. George's Tavern, yet, considering the insignificant number of persons who were present at the

Though somewhat discouraged by the slight attendance at the City of London Tavern, yet, considering the influence of the East India Company in this, their strong hold ; and considering also how much the merchants of London, generally, are impressed with an idea that the abolition of the monopoly, though beneficial to the country at large, would take away a large portion of what is now the exclusive privilege of their single port, I was not so much surprised. What did, however, I confess, somewhat astonish me, notwithstanding my experience of the London press, was the fact, that scarcely any assistance was rendered to the cause by that powerful instrument here ; but that on the contrary, not a line, by way even of announcing the time and place of delivery, could be inserted in the principal papers of the day *without payment* ; while no report or mention of the lectures was in any case gratuitously undertaken, as is usual in similar cases.

Supposing it possible, however, that the apathy or hostility evinced in the City might not extend to other parts of the Metropolis, I remained in town for the purpose of repeating the effort again; and between April and June, I delivered no less than seven distinct Courses, of seven Lectures each, in seven

different places;—the first was in the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street; the second in Freemason's Hall, Great Queen Street; the third at Almack's Ball Room, St. James's Square; the fourth at the City Concert Rooms, Finsbury Circus; the fifth at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand; the sixth at the King's Concert Room of the Italian Opera House; and the seventh at the British Coffee House, Charing Cross. Every hour of the day and evening was tried in succession, from one o'clock till eight: and every day in the week had its chance; but, though no expence was spared to excite public attention, scarcely any one audience at either of the places named exceeded 100 persons, and very frequently they were under 25; on one occasion only 15, and on another only 7 attended! The result was, that upon the whole of the London Courses, a sum of about 350*l.* was *lost*, in actual expences incurred and paid beyond the receipts; without accounting the time, labour, anxiety, and disappointment, which twice that amount of *gain* would very inadequately repay.*

Another circumstance which added greatly to my mortification was this :—that in consequence of the exclusive attention which I had given to this undertaking since January last, and the consequent relinquishment of my publications to the direction of other persons, they had so declined in sale, and all my business concerns had become so deranged, that I was placed in this unfortunate dilemma ; being compelled to choose whether I would abandon the plan I had marked out for rousing the Country on the state of our Eastern possessions, by those personal exertions, and by returning to my publications restore them again to the state in which they were when I first left them to the management of other hands ; or whether I would altogether retire from them, both as to management and property, and continue steadily to prosecute to the end the career I had now at so much hazard begun. It was a hard struggle between the private claims of my family, and the duty which I conceived I had taken on myself to discharge to the public ; but the latter conquered. I gave up all hope of the benefits which these publications had previously realized, and which might, by my return to their management, and abandonment of my Tour, have been permanently secured : and winding up my affairs, by a transfer of some portion of the property, and a sale of the remainder, I retired from it with a loss of more than 2,500*l.*, bestowed on two of the publications alone, the SPHYNX and ATHENÆUM—and a loss of at least 1,500*l.* more, on the leases, stock, and materials, engaged in their establishment. I mention these particulars, not for the purpose of attaching more importance to them than they really deserve, but chiefly as an answer to the ever-ready accusation, and often-repeated calumny, that self interest and individual benefit are the sole motives by which I have been actuated in the course I have undertaken ; while to those who say that, in addition to these motives, my opposition to the India Company has been created solely by my having received injury at their hands, I need only reply, that I opposed the system of Despotism and Monopoly in India, long before I had ever received such injury ; that I was, in short, removed from that country, *because* of my opposition to the system by which it is ruled ; which is a very different thing from opposing that system, *because* of my removal. *My opinions* respecting the East and its rulers, have never changed, and if the Government of that Country, because of my conscientious opposition to their system there, thought proper to remove me from *that* scene of action, and to plant me here in

* Among the most constant attendants on these Lectures delivered in London, was Sir Sydney Smith (who has seen, perhaps, more of the Eastern World than any other officer in the British Navy), with the ladies of his family. At the close of them, he sought an introduction to me, when, after expressing the high satisfaction he had received from their delivery, he presented me a rare and curious volume, written in Spanish, on the legal rights of the Christians in their sanctuaries in the Holy Land, with the following inscription on the title-page, written in his own hand :

"To Mr. Buckingham, in acknowledgement of his benevolent views, and perspicuity and energy in their development, from Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, after his Lecture on Palestine, April 16th, 1829."

England, which is *their* act and not mine, I should be wanting in every right feeling as an Englishman, if I did not avail myself of that change, to speak freely and openly to my countrymen here, that which I was scarcely permitted to breathe in stifled whispers there. My motives are known only to God and to myself, and I am satisfied with their purity. The facts and arguments I may advance, are fair and legitimate objects of critical examination, and to that I am always willing to submit; but if those who advocate Despotism and Monopoly claim for themselves unexceptionable motives and conscious integrity, I can conceive no good reason why those who advocate Freedom, and fair and open Trade, should not be equally entitled to credit for the sincerity of their motives and the integrity of their intentions also.

In consequence of the Lectures delivered in the several Provincial Towns before named, and almost immediately succeeding them, Public Meetings were held in each, and Resolutions entered into, for following up what had been already so auspiciously begun, by more active measures to promote the opening of India and China to free intercourse and trade. One of these measures was the appointment of Deputies from the several Towns alluded to, to repair to London, and there, in conjunction with Mr. Whitmore, the Member for Bridgenorth, who had given notice of his intention to move for a Committee of Enquiry into the state of the Trade between Great Britain, India, and China, and with whom I had been in frequent correspondence and conference on this subject, and with Mr. Crawford, formerly in the service of the East India Company, and since constituted or deputed by the Merchants of Calcutta, as their Agent in England, to confer with Ministers on the steps necessary to be taken, for effecting their object.

The interview which these Deputies from the Country had with the First Lord of the Treasury and the President of the Board of Trade, led to the promise that every attention should be paid to their representations and to a conventional pledge, that if they would consent to waive all pressure of the subject on the attention of Parliament for the present session, a Committee should emanate from their (the ministerial) side of the house, early in the next: and in the interval, such documents as were calculated to elucidate the subject in the way of evidence, should be laid on the tables of both houses, for the information of their members.

On this understanding, the motion of Mr. Whitmore, for a Committee of Enquiry, was brought forward on the 14th of May, and after a Debate of some length, (which was reported in full, with copious notes on the statements of the several speakers, in the *ORIENTAL HERALD* of June), * the pledge given by the President of the Board of Trade, to the Deputies, in their interview, was publicly repeated in parliament, on which Mr. Whitmore withdrew his motion; and thus, for the session at least, all public proceedings on the question, in either House, were suspended.

After the rising of Parliament, when the Deputies repaired to their several homes, and when London began to be, in the fashionable phrase, 'empty,' I prepared for a second Tour through the Country, in prosecution of the plan marked out, and partly executed in the beginning of the year; being now determined to take the circle of Scotland and the North of England first, and then return southward in the winter. This was not to be accomplished, without some sacrifices, and considerable difficulty. These, however, were all cheerfully submitted to and ultimately overcome, so that I set out again on my Second Tour, the result of of which will be seen in the following pages.

* This method of attaching notes to the speeches made in debates at the India House, in Parliament, and at public meetings on Indian Affairs, has been uniformly observed in the *Oriental Herald*, correcting errors and putting down fallacies as they occur, and constitutes one of the most valuable features of that Work. If this could be done with the speeches in Parliament as they appear in the papers of the day, it would be of the highest value to the public cause.

EDINBURGH.

I ARRIVED in Edinburgh on the 10th of July, and announced the delivery of my first Lecture at the Hopetoun Rooms in Queen-street. It was attended by 170 persons, of the highest respectability, who expressed their approbation in so marked a manner, as to give a sure earnest of increasing interest in the subject. On the succeeding evenings, the audience so increased in numbers, that the Rooms were insufficient to contain them; and we accordingly removed, first to the Assembly Room in George's Street, and afterwards to the Great Room at the Waterloo Hotel, where, at the concluding Lecture, the audience was nearly 500 in number, and the demonstrations of feeling more marked, than had been witnessed in the capital of Scotland for a considerable period of time. This was the more remarkable, as it happened at a period of the year when the Colleges and Courts were vacant; when the principal families had gone to their seats, or the watering places; and when, in the usual phrase, the town was at the dullest point of the season. The few following extracts from the papers of the day will, however, sufficiently indicate the feeling that prevailed:—

'Few men in our day have made a greater figure in the world than Mr. Buckingham. In one way or other his name has been almost continually before the public. The arbitrary and tyrannical act of oppression which drove him from India, and ruined his rising fortunes in that country, first engaged the attention, and we may truly add, enlisted in his behalf the sympathies of the people of England. Persecution of every kind invariably defeats its own object. When the strong, merely because they are strong, in the very wantonness of conscious power, employ their strength against the weak, and convert the authority with which they have been clothed for the benefit of a great community into an instrument of undisguised oppression against an individual, the generous feelings of our nature are immediately awakened in behalf of the victim of injustice, and the public at once take him under their protection. Hence the very means which were taken to crush Mr. Buckingham, and to ruin for ever his prospects in life, at once marked him out as a person of consideration, and excited universal indignation against the petty tyrants who had attempted his destruction. His first introduction to our notice, therefore, was by means of a passport, signed and counter-signed, if we may so express ourselves, by his Indian persecutors. And since that time we have been rendered familiar with his name in a great variety of aspects; as an enterprising and intelligent traveller, who had indefatigably explored and ably described some of the most interesting countries on the face of the earth; as a sturdy claimant for justice and reparation, thundering at the gates of the India House, and disturbing the slumbers of the merchant princes of Leadenhall-Street; as the triumphant defender of his literary reputation against the ungenerous and unmanly attack which had been made upon it by Mr. Banks; as the parent of a whole generation of periodicals, political and literary; and, lastly, as the preacher of a general crusade against the East India Company's monopoly. We confess, therefore, that we felt no ordinary degree of curiosity to see and hear a person who had made so much noise in the world, and connected his name with so many great interests, remarkable occurrences, and distinguished individuals; and that with expectations considerably excited, we repaired on Monday night to the Hopetoun Rooms, where it was announced that Mr. Buckingham would deliver the first of a short course of Lectures on the Eastern World. Nor were these expectations in any degree disappointed.

'Of the subject of the Lecture we shall speak presently. With regard to the Lecturer himself we must say that he appears to us admirably qualified for the task he has undertaken. Full of the subject, on which he evidently possesses the most abundant information, he spoke from the printed heads of his lecture, which are exceedingly brief, with the greatest ease and fluency, and in a style of elocution equally simple, graceful, and unpretending, displayed a talent for communicating knowledge in a clear, vivid, interesting, and popular manner, far surpassing any thing of the kind we have lately witnessed. The best proof of this we can mention is the fact, that for nearly three hours he kept the attention of a numerous and most respectable audience so

riveted by his graphic descriptions and illustrative anecdotes, told frequently with an archness and effect peculiarly *frappant* and felicitous, that, forgetting to take any note of time, his auditors, at the conclusion, seemed actuated only by a feeling of regret that the lecture had so soon been brought to a close. As a *conteur*, indeed, Mr. Buckingham might almost rival some of his friends in the Desert, of whom he cherishes so many pleasing recollections; nor is it possible to conceive any thing more engaging than the style in which he brings before his audience the scenes, the manners, the characters of the gorgeous East; not in frigid description, but in full presentment, as it were, touching our own imaginations by the happy power he possesses, and enabling us almost to see what, in fact, he only after all describes. But never for one moment did he lose sight of his main object, namely, to demonstrate the expediency or rather the necessity of breaking up the Company's monopoly, and opening a free trade with the East. To this almost all his numerous illustrations were skilfully made to converge; and many of the facts and circumstances which he adduced in support of the measure he recommends, were unquestionably calculated to make a deep impression upon the minds of his hearers. Beyond all question, Mr. Buckingham is the most formidable enemy with whom the sovereign monopolists of Leadenhall-Street have yet had to contend. Commercial or political reasonings and speculations, when read in the closet, make but a faint impression; and many will not even read them at all. But when truths of the very highest importance to the interests of the nation, are clothed in so fascinating a garb, and surrounded with so many accessory attractions, their force is immediate and irresistible. They sink deep into the mind, and become formed, at the same time that the instructed and intelligent have their opinions confirmed, and the desire to reduce them into practice stimulated and awakened. Hence, is now making through the kingdom, teaching and preaching anti-monopolist doctrines, means that have been employed, the mind of the country will be thoroughly awakened; and, in due time, public opinion will acquire a consistency and force sufficient to surmount every obstacle, and to overcome all opposition, founded on old errors, and anti-national interests.—*Caledonian Mercury*, July 16.

On Monday night, this celebrated traveller commenced his Lectures in the Hopetoun Rooms, on the manners, antiquities, and policy of the Eastern countries. The company was numerous and genteel; and for the two hours during which his discourse continued, he was listened to, as he deserved to be, with the most profound attention. He has since delivered two other lectures which have not been less favourably received. Mr. Buckingham, we believe, is the only traveller who ever resorted to this method of communicating the result of his observations verbally to the public, in place of publishing them in a printed volume; and every one must at once see how greatly these *viva voce* communications must excel in vivacity and interest any written composition, whatever be its merits, especially when the person who makes this experiment is so eminently qualified to give it effect as Mr. Buckingham appears to be. As a lecturer his merits are very great. His elocution is easy; his manner quite natural and agreeable; and he seems to carry on his discourse without the aid of any written notes. He has indeed all the ease, readiness, and alacrity of a finished speaker, and so simple and familiar is his style, that in place of a public audience we might suppose him to be addressing an account of his adventures to a circle of his private friends. He has none of that ease, however, which degenerates into carelessness; and he never approaches to any thing like tameness. On the contrary, though he is obliged, in consequence of his limited stay in this city, to protract his lecture for two, and sometimes nearly three hours, he never flags for a moment, but seems to gather new vigour, as he enters more deeply into his subject; and goes on, to the last, fluent, animated, and impressive. Yet he does not evince any anxiety to shine; his sole object seems to be, to convey instruction to his audience; to tell them what they did not know before, and to tell it in the easiest and briefest manner. His style is accordingly simple. He does not go out of his way for flowery descriptions or embellishments of any sort, but seems to rely entirely for his success on the sterling value of the information he communicates, and which is only a portion of that larger store which he has collected in the course of his travels. His acquaintance with those eastern countries which form the subject of his discourses,

seems to be most perfect; we were particularly struck with the mastery which he displayed over every part of his subject; with the fullness, the freshness, the vivacity of his sketches; the force of his illustrations; the prodigality of his details; and the skill with which he disposed and arranged to the best advantage, his extensive information. There are many travellers ingenious and well informed, who have perfectly accurate and just notions of all that they have either seen or heard, but who yet fail to give any distinct or vivid impressions of interesting objects; who set the mind afloat, as it were, among vague and general ideas, and there leave it. Mr. Buckingham is quite the reverse of this. Whatever be the matter on which he is discoursing, whether it be any point of local usage or manners, any interesting relic of antiquity, or any question of antiquarian research, he is sure to make it clear before he has done with it, and to bring it home to the standard of our ordinary ideas, by some ready and familiar illustration. He does not seem to be much given to ingenious or doubtful speculations; yet he misses no opportunity of illustrating the manners and policy of the Eastern countries; and, without being a theorist, he is frequently very successful in tracing particular facts to the general state of manners, in striking out an unexpected light, where the mere antiquarian would grope in darkness, and in thus bringing out the rationale of many ancient customs, by reasonings that display at once his research and his judgment.—*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, July 16.

Having been thus particular in regard to the adventures of Mr. Buckingham, we shall now speak of his appearance in our city. In his lectures on Arabia and Palestine, the two at which we were present, he stated very little that is not familiar to every intelligent reader; but at the same time, what he did state was so happily expressed and so agreeably illustrated by personal anecdotes, that we believe every body in the room was heartily sorry when he brought them to a close. We were in particular greatly struck with his picture of Damascus, than which nothing oral could be more graphic and enchanting; and it recurred to us repeatedly, that were such a man to devote himself entirely to delineating the face of the earth by word of mouth, he would do more to advance geographical knowledge than all the professors in Britain. It is Mr. Buckingham's object to draw attention to the Eastern world, and of course he paints the orient as strewn with paradises; but still, with the full persuasion that his pictures are in danger of being overcharged, we are not prepared to say that we detected any palpable exaggerations—or at least any that a lecturer might not legitimately employ. The knowledge that he had seen the towers and temples—traversed the deserts—bathed in the waters—slept in the groves—eat of the fruits—and conversed with the people he described, added greatly to the effect of his details. Though he never lets slip a favourable opportunity of giving his old oppressors a kick, he does not employ any vituperative language against them, or in anywise intrude his own grievances into the subject. On the whole, we regard him as a very formidable enemy to the Company. He has undertaken to render it unpopular; and with the undeniable facts that he can adduce, and the tide of public opinion setting strongly in his favour—for there is not one man in a hundred but is hostile to the further extension of the charter—he will do much to accomplish it.—*Edinburgh Observer*, July 17.

Mr. Buckingham's lectures which commenced on Monday last, and have continued every evening during the week, appear to be exciting much interest, and giving great satisfaction, in this city. We are, for our own part, heartily disposed to approve of the favourable impression which he has made. We have heard him with no common degree of pleasure; and consider ourselves called upon to declare, that we were never before in possession of such vivid and accurate notions of all that is remarkable in the countries he undertakes to describe, as those with which we have been supplied by him. Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia, have been successively delineated, with all their wonders, both of art and nature, in a manner which makes us now feel comparatively at home upon these subjects. Numerous circumstances concur in recommending Mr. Buckingham's lectures to the public, viewing them merely in a literary and popular point of view, and altogether apart from the grand national question, with which, however, they are all more or less connected. In the first place, Mr. Buckingham has himself been in the countries of which he treats, and has seen with his own eyes every thing he describes. If he speaks of the Pyramids, he has stood on their top; if of the Nile, he has bathed in its waters; if of Mecca, he has made the pilgrimage to the holy shrine; if of Palmyra, he has been among it

ruins. In the second place, information conveyed orally has a great advantage over that which comes to us through the medium of books. It is amazing how much the looks and gestures of the speaker contribute to give distinctness and graphic force to the picture he attempts to sketch. A book is the best substitute we can have for its author, but it is only a substitute. Mr. Buckingham is both the book and the author in one, and the effect produced is therefore doubled. In the third place, Mr. Buckingham's manner is exceedingly prepossessing and agreeable. One sees at once that he is a gentleman, and entitled to respect as well as to attention. He is a man past middle life, but hale and active, and with a modest, but energetic and business-like mode of delivery, which effectually prevents the minds of his audience from wandering. In addition to all this, he is excellently skilled in the art of pleasing a popular assembly by intermixing with his graver and more important matter, a number of light and amusing stories.'—*Edinburgh Literary Journal*, July 18.

'MR. BUCKINGHAM.—Yesterday this celebrated traveller concluded his course of Lectures on the Eastern World, to the great regret, we venture to say, of every person who had the good taste to attend him. As we anticipated, his audience gradually increased as he drew nearer and nearer to the grand topic to which all his details, whether descriptive or argumentative, converged; and on Saturday and yesterday the great room in the Waterloo Tavern was crowded with several hundreds of the most intelligent and respectable of our citizens, all intent to catch the winding-up of his prelections. The ladies supported him staunchly all along; and, judging by their looks at least, we may safely assert that his advent has created quite a sensation, and completely annihilated in many a fair bosom the popularity of the gigantic monopoly which he strives to subvert. Our own favourable opinion of Mr. Buckingham, not merely as a lecturer, but as a man of most extensive intelligence, has steadily progressed ever since we first heard him speak; and we are now confirmed in the opinion, that there are few men in the British islands equally qualified, and certainly none better, to expose the erroneous principles on which our vast territories in the East are governed; and the imperious necessity of the people at home making a firm stand against the extension of a charter which militates so monstrously against the improvement of eighty-five millions of the human race. It cannot be, we know, that Mr. Buckingham is without a bias in the contest. No man could have battled so long and by a spicing of vindictiveness towards his adversaries; without having his perception quickened our judgment goes, he has to boast of a very large share of philanthropy, and that it is not easy to listen to his arguments without feeling respect for the man, and aversion towards the system of moral and commercial bondage which he labours to overturn.'—*Edinburgh Observer*, July 21.

'Mr. Buckingham's supplementary lecture on the East India Company's Monopoly, and the advantages which would result from throwing open the trade to India and China, was delivered in the Waterloo Great Room, on Monday last, to a numerous and highly respectable audience. It occupied nearly four hours in the delivery; but from the interesting nature of the subject, the multiplicity of the details introduced, and the engaging qualities of the lecturer himself, whose talent for communicating knowledge in a clear, animated, and attractive form is really of a very high order indeed, the attention of the auditory was kept up, with unabated intensity to the last; and if we may judge from our own feeling and observation, the discourse might have been almost indefinitely prolonged without producing any sensation of lassitude or of exhaustion.'—*Caledonian Mercury*, July 23.

'On Monday, the subject of Mr. Buckingham's lecture was the constitution, policy, and government of the East India Company, and the condition of the population of Hindoostan, and it was delivered to a more crowded audience than any that has yet attended him. He continued expatiating on this important subject with such varied powers of eloquence, argument, and wit, that for the space of nearly four hours he enchained the attention of his hearers. Every new appearance which Mr. Buckingham makes, confirms and increases the first impressions of his great and original talents. On Monday he surpassed all his former exertions. He was animated apparently by the presence of so large an audience; and he rose at times to the highest tone of impassioned eloquence; while he enlivened the dry details of argument in a manner so extremely amusing and original, that we never before saw entertainment

and instruction so happily combined. He was occasionally quite dramatic in his statements, and the delight of his audience, testified by frequent plaudits, seemed to react upon him, and to inspire him with new energy. He improved in fluency and ardour, and presented every topic upon which he touched in a new and more striking aspect, by the force and vivacity of his delineations.'—*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, July 23.

'MR. BUCKINGHAM.—Last night this gentleman gave the first of three supplementary lectures on the Eastern World, to an audience consisting of upwards of 500 ladies and gentlemen, among whom we noticed a great many individuals of the highest intelligence and respectability. Mr. Buckingham, while he touched on all the countries which he had described in his previous lectures, was careful to avoid repetition, his object in extending his course being rather to supply facts omitted, than to rivet those which he had before communicated. In this attempt he was exceedingly happy—this lecture being fully more diversified, and richer in anecdote, than any of its predecessors. Mr. Buckingham's stores of information regarding the East appear to be quite inexhaustible; and he opens them with a facility exclusively his own, and which makes us regret every time we hear him, the impossibility of doing justice, in a report, to a tythe of the topics which he illuminates.'—*Edinburgh Observer*, July 24.

In addition to these unsought eulogies from the public press of Scotland, emanating from nine different papers, of all shades in politics, the private hospitalities and friendly attentions with which I was everywhere greeted, by the warm-hearted inhabitants of this beautiful and interesting city, were such as led me to feel myself no longer among strangers, and to bring away with me recollections of pleasure and attachment that I believe I shall carry with me to my grave. It was not to be expected, however, that such a stream of popularity as this would be permitted to flow on entirely without interruption. Accordingly, during the course of this period, an attack was opened on me, by a writer in one of the newspapers, (the Editor of which, however, had expressed his highest eulogy on my character and proceedings), calling himself 'A Friend to Dr. Bryce,' and reviving all the thousand-times-refuted accusations respecting the cases of Banks, Burckhardt, Bryce, Adam, and others. It was replied to through the same channel, and at last led to the disclosure of the name of the writer, who proved to be Dr. Bryce's professional Agent, and was therefore labouring in his vocation, and had possibly begun to think of the blessings of a 'suit at law,' and all its comfortable emoluments. In this, however, he was defeated, as the mere disclosure of his name, in Edinburgh, where he was well known, was deemed sufficient to deprive his lucubrations of even the little value which, had they continued anonymous, they might still perhaps have retained.

ABERDEEN.

From Edinburgh I proceeded to Aberdeen, where the kindness of friends had already prepared the way for me, and where I accordingly met with a most cordial reception. The magnificent Public Rooms of that flourishing town were readily accorded for the delivery of the short course of Lectures which I intended giving there; and of the effect produced by these, the following extracts from the Aberdeen Papers may, perhaps, be deemed sufficient evidence:—

'On Monday and yesterday evenings we attended the Lectures of this gentleman in the Banqueting Hall of the Public Rooms, Union-street; both of which, and especially the last, was attended by a numerous and highly respectable audience, including many of the principal families of the town and surrounding country. In consequence of a desire expressed by several of the leading members of the community, Mr. Buckingham gave a Preliminary Lecture, in which he introduced a selection of the most remarkable things contained in his longer Course.

'It would be difficult to say which of these portions gave the most unmixed satisfaction to the audience—they appeared to be delighted with all; and although the

first Lecture lasted from seven o'clock till nearly ten, every one seemed reluctant to depart when it was brought to a close. We have never, on any occasion, witnessed more unequivocal satisfaction and delight.

'The second Lecture, which was given last evening, was still more fully attended than the first; and the regret was continually felt and expressed that Mr. Buckingham's stay was confined to two evenings only. We were glad to see, however, that his allusion to an intended repetition of his visit in the next year was received in such a manner as to manifest the most cordial support of all who heard it; and we doubt not but his full course would be attended here with very ample numbers.

'The Lecture on the East India Company's Monopoly, being the essence of the whole, was listened to with profound attention; and we doubt whether there was a single individual who before had any idea of its being so full of mischief to the country, or who did not leave the room with a fixed resolution to do every thing within his power to prevent the renewal of the charter of exclusive privileges, which is productive of such unmix'd evil.'—*Aberdeen Journal*, July 29.

'Mr. Buckingham, who lectured in the County Rooms on Monday and Tuesday last, was attended on both occasions by numerous and respectable audiences. The appearance of this gentleman confirms all that has been said of his previous talents. He has eloquence, fluency, argument, and wit; and such powers of striking illustration that he arrests the attention of his audience, and gives at the same time such comprehensive and clear views of his subject, as impress the truth irresistibly on the mind. The subjects treated of by Mr. Buckingham are of the deepest importance, with a view to the great question, so soon to be discussed, of the renewal or non-renewal of the East India Company's charter; and he has very clearly proved, that this political anomaly of a trading company ruling our vast dominions in the capacity of a sovereign, is of the most pernicious nature, and has been attended with the worst consequences. The government of the East India Company has always been directed to one plain, simple, and selfish end, namely, the preservation in their own incapable hands of their vast possessions, at whatever expence. To this end every thing has been sacrificed, the happiness alike of the millions whom they govern, and the interests of Great Britain. The commercial sovereigns of Leadenhall-street have behaved to their subjects in every respect like the false mother, who would rather divide the child in two than part with it. They have resisted the most obvious improvements—opposed the wisest laws—and countenanced the basest idolatries and the most bloody superstitions, from a slavish fear of some nameless perils, arising from what was to benefit their subjects; and the only object they have been at all solicitous about has been to extort money from them, and to remit it home. It is clear that the colonization and settlement of Europeans in India, is essential to the improvement of the country; it is in this manner only that European improvement, both in arts, in morals, and in religion, can be diffused over this vast continent. Yet, this is rigidly prohibited by the East India Company, in whose dominions alone it is that the name of an Englishman is the badge of slavery.'—*Aberdeen Chronicle*, August 1.

DUNDEE.

DUNDEE was the next place of my visit, and there also the subject had already excited attention. The public authorities of the town evinced their approbation of the undertaking by a visit to me on my arrival; and the effect is thus spoken of in the Journals of Dundee:—

'MR. BUCKINGHAM.—This celebrated Orientalist commenced his first lecture, yesterday evening in the Thistle Hall, Union-street; and was enthusiastically greeted on his entrance by a numerous and respectable audience. We cannot, at this late hour, even venture upon an outline of his lecture: suffice it to say, that the facts he produced were so intensely interesting, and his manner of delivering them so vivid, familiar, and free from any thing like affectation, that not one of his auditors exhibited the least impatience, or left the room till the conclusion—so completely were they riveted by his eloquence for upwards of three hours. To show their respect for the character and talents of Mr. Buckingham, and their zeal for the great cause which he is advocating, several of our principal merchants waited upon him at the hotel, and

conducted him to the Lecture-hall. This, we trust, is a symptom that our merchants are alive to the importance of a free trade to the East.'—*Dundee Advertiser*, July 30.

'Mr. Buckingham's Lectures took place here on the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday last, in the Thistle Operative Hall, Union-street, and were heard throughout with the deepest attention, and we may add, with conviction, by all present. Mr. Buckingham has distinguished powers as a lecturer. His readiness, his fluency, his eloquence, his complete mastery over the subject in all its details, his lively and apposite illustrations, as well as the point and sarcasm of his observations, all concurred to impress on his hearers the most profound admiration of his talents, and to secure attention, which is the first great step to conviction.—There cannot be a doubt, we think, that Mr. Buckingham made out a most triumphant case against the East India Company; proving that their whole attention was directed, not to the happiness of the people, or the prosperity of the country, but to the more selfish end of preserving those dominions for a possession to themselves. Accordingly Europeans are prevented from colonizing the country and settling in it, and by that means, of introducing among the Natives the industry, the arts, the manufactures, and, though last, not least, the intelligence and morality of Europe.

'From a notice by Lord William Bentinck, inserted in a former column, it will be observed, that the East India Company are beginning to think a little about the improvement of their dominions. The speedy expiry of their charter is a decisive argument; and they wish, before the question comes to be discussed, to have it to say that they have not altogether neglected the good of their subjects. That this is not the motive for this tardy act of justice there is little reason to doubt; otherwise, why would such an obvious duty have been so long delayed. This measure is clearly extorted from the fears of the Company, rather than from any overabundant anxiety for the happiness of their subjects.

'Mr. Buckingham was waited upon at his hotel by the Dean of Guild, the Deputy Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Baillie Brown, and several other respectable merchants, by whom he was accompanied to the new Hall in Union-street, and introduced to his audience, consisting of about 150 of the most respectable people in the place. On Thursday evening there might be 300 present.'—*Dundee Courier*, Aug 4.

GLASGOW.

From Dundee I passed through Perth, where not more than twenty or thirty persons could be collected to form the first audience; and a further stay there being deemed a loss of time, I proceeded to Glasgow, where I arrived on the 2d of August.

I had before this enjoyed the pleasure of an acquaintance with some of the leading merchants of this large and opulent city, and was now glad to renew my intercourse with them, in the mutual pursuit of an object so eminently beneficial to themselves. On communicating, however, with the East India Association already formed here, the Deputies from which had been in London in May, I found the same spirit of separation and exclusiveness to prevail as in London. The leaders in this Association were gentlemen who seemed to think it quite possible to carry the measure of opening the Trade to India and China, and entirely to destroy the exclusive Commercial Monopoly, and yet leave the Government of India in the hands of the East India Company. They were for Free Trade only, but not for Colonization; as if it were possible for the benefits of the one to be fully reaped without the admission of the other; and they were for taking away the trading character of the India Company only, and leaving them all the revenues, patronage, and political power they possess; as if it had not been shewn, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the latter could not be supported by them at all, without the profits derived from their Monopoly on Tea; and that on this issue they must all stand or fall together. In consequence of this imagined 'moderation,' as the parties were pleased to call it, an idea seemed seriously to be entertained by some of them, that it was

quite possible to obtain the abolition of the East India Monopoly, and yet do nothing that should in the least degree offend the East India Directors! and this temporizing policy was that which the majority of the Glasgow Association adopted. There were some exceptions, however, to this rule; and accordingly although the Body took especial pains to keep itself aloof from all supposed connection with the labours I had undertaken, to effect the end they professedly desired—namely, the opening of the Eastern Trade; yet the excepted individuals exerted themselves with great zeal and earnestness to compensate for this luke-warmness, and gave their most cordial support and countenance to the measure in operation.

The First Lecture was delivered in the Assembly Room of Glasgow, on the 3d of August. It was attended by about eighty persons, who expressed their satisfaction in an enthusiastic manner. The succeeding ones were attended by increasing audiences every day, and the closing Lecture on the Monopoly and Government of India, produced a more striking impression than in almost any previous instance. The effect may be judged of from the following extracts from the Glasgow papers.

‘MR. BUCKINGHAM.—This distinguished Oriental traveller commenced his Lectures here on Monday last, in the Assembly Rooms, Ingram-street, to a very respectable and highly intelligent audience. His subject on Monday was Egypt, and yesterday Arabia; and we feel assured that we express the sentiments of every one who heard him when we say, that he crowds more information and entertainment into a short space, than any Lecturer who ever before addressed a Glasgow audience. His utterance is rapid, yet very distinct,—although occasionally, at the close of the periods, he permits his voice to fall so low as to escape the hearing of those who sat at any great distance; his elocution at the same time is good, his ideas acute and striking, his gestures animated, and his manner and appearance very gentlemanly and prepossessing. He is thoroughly master of every detail connected with his subjects, and he thus, with as much ease as familiarity, pours out upon the minds of his hearers a flood of knowledge, at once varied, extensive, original, and interesting. Perhaps his most distinguishing characteristic is his graphic power, by which he conjures up before the imagination, in as much vivid distinctness as if it were actually present, every image (and they are most multitudinous) of which he attempts the delineation. At the progress of so eloquent and able an advocate of freedom in commerce and legislation as this, the East India Monopolists have had good reason to become apprehensive.’—*Glasgow Free Press*, Aug. 5.

‘MR. BUCKINGHAM.—We are truly rejoiced to see the extraordinary manner in which the audiences attending the Lectures of this gentleman have increased since Wednesday. His popularity is now unbounded, and were he to repeat his whole Course three times over, he would each successive time have an enlarged attendance. This, we are glad to perceive, has induced him to give us an evening Course before his departure. By that means hundreds of our fellow-citizens will be enabled to embrace the opportunity of hearing him, who cannot leave their places of business at the present early hour. Yesterday Mr. Buckingham, in a splendid Lecture, gave us his description of India: to day he is to grapple with the *Monopoly*; when we earnestly call upon every one who takes an interest in the question to attend, and witness this modern Hercules of the commercial world strangle our modern Nemean Lion.

‘As a proof of the rapid manner in which the question respecting Free Trade with India is forcing itself on the attention of all classes of the community, since the commencement of Mr. Buckingham’s tour through the country, for the purpose of awakening the public mind to a due sense of its importance, we may here mention that the College of Glasgow has proposed, for a Prize Essay, the following subject:—‘The probable effects, both in England and in India, of removing all the existing restrictions on the commerce between the two countries.’—*Glasgow Free Press*, Aug. 8.

‘The close of Mr. Buckingham’s Lecture on Saturday was marked by the loudest and most enthusiastic applause, which continued to be reverberated and prolonged from every part of the Hall. Before it had subsided, Mr. Spiers of Culcreuch, a leading Member of the East India Association of Glasgow, rose, and addressed the assembly to the following effect:

“Ladies and Gentlemen.—After the brilliant display of eloquence with which you have heard the subject of India and its administration treated to-day, and after the enthusiastic manner in which you have evinced your admiration of the talented individual to whom we are indebted for this exposition, I am sure that I shall only be expressing the unanimous feeling of every one who hears me, when I beg to propose that we tender to Mr. Buckingham our united and cordial thanks, for the vivid and convincing manner in which he has condensed and arranged the vast mass of information submitted to us to day; and the triumphant case which he has established against the East India Company; so as to satisfy the most scrupulous, that we ought to unite with the other great towns of the kingdom to prevent the renewal of their exclusive privileges, from which so little of good, even to themselves, and so much evil to others, have already sprung.”

‘The vote of thanks to Mr. Buckingham was seconded by Mr. Douglas of Barloch, and carried by loud and long-continued acclamation.

‘Mr. Buckingham acknowledged his deep sense of the honour conferred on him, in very feeling and appropriate terms, and the meeting then separated, the Speech, or Lecture, having lasted nearly four hours; and being kept up with increasing intensity of interest, both in the speaker and the hearers, to the very last.’—*Glasgow Herald*, Aug. 10.

In ‘The Glasgow Chronicle’ of August 12, immediately after the close of the Lectures, appeared the following letter, addressed to the Editor:

‘SIR,—At the conclusion of a very powerful address of Mr. Buckingham, on the India Monopoly, by which, on last Saturday, he exceeded every expectation of his most sanguine admirers, and engaged for four hours the untired and eager attention of a most respectable and numerous auditory, nothing was more gratifying than the universal expression of ardent approbation which followed the motion of Mr. Spiers of Culcreuch, of thanks to Mr. Buckingham for his conduct, and for the extensive and valuable information which he had compressed into so small a compass, and conveyed in a manner so particularly interesting. The repetition of the lectures in an evening course, is most judicious, and will, no doubt, be attended by the large proportion of the reflecting part of the community, whose interests are so deeply engaged in this question, but who could not spare so many business hours of the forenoon.

‘On Saturday, a very general feeling was expressed in the respectable mercantile and manufacturing circle assembled at the Lecture—that if the commercial metropolis of Scotland had, like Liverpool, any power to elect a Parliamentary Representative, those who had witnessed Mr. B.’s capacity for abridging the largest subjects, and simplifying the most complex details of commercial affairs, or state policy—his distinctness in argumentative discussions—his correct easy style—and graceful and animated delivery and action—his equal facility of transition from the grave to the gay—from playful irony or pleasantry to the pathetic and deeply impassioned—the general result of a profound impression of the importance and truth of his doctrines—would bestow, by acclamation, a seat in Parliament on one so well qualified by peculiar knowledge and capacity for meeting with effect the Parliamentary manœuvres, which the great Leviathan of Indian Monopoly will assuredly spare neither cost nor exertion to put in motion, to exclude the British nation from a free-trade intercourse and settlement in the Eastern world.

‘The best method of securing an advantageous arena on which this able champion of the public cause may meet its wily and potent adversaries, is to raise a national subscription from every class in proportion to their stake and their means—the very interest of which, vested in the funds, would defray every needful expense, and the principal, under the charge of local committees, be returned to the subscribers to this Grand—National—Free—India Trade Savings’ Bank.

‘That there are public spirited merchants and manufacturers in this city, and in the West of Scotland, who would be zealous and proud to lend a little of their time in organizing such a scheme, and in superintending the conduct of the efforts for obtaining free admission to the soil and trade of India, under the protecting influence of British law—it would be an insult to the extensive knowledge, enterprise, talent, and spirit of the public to doubt.

‘If a general expression of opinion to this effect were first collected by subscriptions,

obtained by a few active individuals to a short paper, the principle would at once lay hold of the public attention, and a sense of its advantages diffuse it over the whole kingdom. This expression of opinion would undoubtedly induce one of the many patriotic noblemen whose families have for centuries devoted their Boroughs to the patronage of men who have disclosed talents for upholding any branch of British liberty, or public right, which was peculiarly endangered—of Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Mackintosh, Brougham—to introduce to the senate the oppressed advocate of the Liberty of the Press, of British law, of free ingress and egress to all British subjects to a colony conquered by our own blood, and retained in dependence by our own efforts; more especially when the shutting of some foreign markets, and the glutting of all, have produced such a depression in every branch of our national industry, and when the question is, whether we shall for another quarter of a century be excluded from one half of the world for the mere pleasure, not profit, of a Company, whose monopoly 'not enriches them, while it makes us poor indeed.'

'The feeling on this subject is at present so strong and general that it only requires direction and motion from a very few merchants and manufacturers of good sense and activity.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

'A GLASGOW MERCHANT.'

During the period of my stay at Glasgow, there were two occasions of which I was glad to avail myself, to add to the feeling of interest already excited on the subject of India, and its affairs. The first of these was the laying the foundation stone of a new bridge across the Clyde, at which a Masonic procession took place, in the presence of 150,000 spectators, which was closed by a public entertainment in the evening; the second was the opening of the Royal Exchange at Glasgow, a splendid building, where upwards of 600 persons sat down to a sumptuous feast. On both of these occasions, my name having been associated with the progress of Free Trade, especially with India and China, I took occasion to increase the feeling of interest in the cause, by addresses which will be found at the end of this narrative. The last Lecture given in Glasgow was on the 20th of August, in a larger room than the former, the Trades' Hall, which was closed by the following proposition, as reported in the papers of the day:—

'Mr. Buckingham having been earnestly pressed to give a developement of his views on the question, "What is to be done with India?" for this purpose, a supplementary lecture was delivered yesterday afternoon (Thursday, August 20) in the Trades' Hall, Glasgow, to an audience more numerous and fashionable, if possible, than on any former occasion. For the gratification of the ladies, the lecture was preceded by an account of a very perilous journey, undertaken by Mr. Buckingham in the Arabian desert, also by some interesting details of the life, habits, and manners of Lady Hester Stanhope.

'At the conclusion of a Lecture, which lasted upwards of two hours, and was listened to with intense interest and great applause, Mr. Buckingham took leave of his audience in very feeling terms.

'After the applause consequent on this ardent expression of the Lecturer's feelings, had subsided,

* In the Glasgow Chronicle of the following week, this notice appeared in reference to the Letter given above:

'The SHEFFIELD IRIS' thinks that the suggestion of our Correspondent 'A Merchant,' in favour of a subscription for procuring a seat for Mr. Buckingham in Parliament, is well worthy the attention of all whose interests are involved in the speedy settlement of the great question now in agitation; the more so, as neither cost nor exertion will be spared by those who have long enjoyed the exclusive right of trading to the Eastern world. As Glasgow, although containing a population of 200,000, has only the privilege of returning one-fourth (other three boroughs, Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen, sharing the honour,) of a member to the 'Collective Wisdom' of the state, it recommends the public-spirited and enlightened merchants of that city to take the lead in promoting the measure suggested by their fellow-citizens, seeking to obtain for Mr. Buckingham a seat in the House of Commons. It only requires (says 'The Sheffield Iris') that a beginning be made, and there can be no doubt of the willingness of the inhabitants of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, to lend their aid, in forwarding a cause which so much concerns their future prosperity.

'LAWRENCE HILL, Esq. rose, and expressed his regret that some one in the assembly, better qualified than himself, had not made some proposal or suggestion, to evince that Mr. Buckingham's Lectures had not been lost upon them, and that they had given rise to some beneficial result. However, the conviction he felt of the importance of the subject on which Mr. Buckingham had just addressed them, compelled him not to allow the meeting to separate without offering them some resolution. With this view, he would propose,

"That after the repeated and convincing proofs which Mr. Buckingham has given to the world, and of which we ourselves have been this day witnesses, of his rarely united qualifications, to advocate the great cause of a more extended intercourse with India and China, by his abundant information, his unwearied zeal, his great eloquence, and his capacity to bring all these into operation in the most crowded and intellectual assemblies, it is the opinion of this meeting, that a subscription should be immediately opened, and a committee appointed for the purpose of taking such measures as may be most expedient, and likely to make Mr. Buckingham's talents and information available to the country, and as may be most conducive to the desirable object of a free trade with the Eastern world, and beneficial to the other important interests involved in that great question."

'JOHN WILSON, Esq. of Thornly, in seconding the resolution, said, he considered it as a tribute and a testimony due to Mr. Buckingham, for his zeal and talents in a great cause, and for his delightful method of conveying information with a view to the promotion of that cause, to the understanding and the heart.

'The resolution was unanimously carried, amid the acclamation of the meeting.

'Mr. Buckingham, evidently much affected at this unexpected demonstration of regard, briefly returned thanks. Whatever might be thought of his talents or capacity, he hoped no one would call in question his ardent zeal in the cause; and which, if it were ever his lot to address another assembly, he hoped would not be found to have become relaxed in the slightest degree. Supposing it to be possible that he should be compelled to choose between offering up his life as the only sacrifice by which this cause could triumph, or of living in ease and affluence, but yet compelled to witness the continuation of the system, he declared, that though bound to society by the strongest of all possible ties, and having a family, every individual member of which was as dear to him as himself, yet he knew he had still sufficient of the Roman in him to prefer the former course. And he took heaven and earth to witness the sincerity of this vow, that so long as he possessed life, health, and adequate strength and means to maintain this crusade against the despotism and monopoly of the East India Company, nothing should prevail on him to turn aside from so holy a path. All he asked or hoped for was the sympathy and support of his countrymen; and if he had but this, their triumph would be certain and complete.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

CARLISLE.

FROM Glasgow I proceeded to Carlisle, where the Assizes happened to be then holding, a circumstance which occasioned many of the Country Gentlemen to be present, and of whose attendance I was glad to avail myself. The Lectures there were confined to the subject of the East India Monopoly only, as the time of my engagements at other places prevented my staying longer; but they were attended with all the good that could be wished, and ended in the passing of Resolutions, for the formation of an East India Association, which received the support of the principal inhabitants of the town. The following was the report given in the papers of the town, of the termination of this course:—

'At the close of Mr. Buckingham's last Lecture on the East India and China Monopoly, delivered at Carlisle, on the 26th of August, to a highly respectable audience, including a great number of the county gentlemen, who had been attending on the assizes, it was moved by John Dixon, Esq., seconded by William Halton, Esq., and carried by acclamation:

"That the cordial thanks of this meeting be tendered to Mr. Buckingham, for the

able and agreeable manner in which he has opened to us the vast fund of his information respecting the trade with India and China; and that we offer him our best wishes for his health and continued success in the great cause which he is so effectually advocating."—*Carlisle Journal*.

DUMFRIES.

DUMFRIES was the next place that I visited; but there, partly from the extreme severity of the weather, the country being then deluged with rain, and partly, perhaps, from the existence of an old East India Interest in that quarter of Scotland, the Lectures were but thinly attended, and led to no immediate results. In this corner of the island, where I had not expected to meet a single creature that I had ever seen before, I was agreeably surprised, when on a visit to the venerable widow of the Poet Burns, to meet with an individual whom I had seen before at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where we had passed some days together, and with another gentleman whom I had before conveyed as a passenger in my ship in India, from Bombay to the Coast of Malabar.

GREENOCK.

I PROCEEDED from hence to Greenock, and if I were called on to name any one place where the interest in the subject of my visit was more lively and vivid than in another, I should certainly name this. Nothing could exceed the zeal, and even fervour of the inhabitants, including all classes:—the following extracts from the Greenock paper will explain the rest:—

'MR. BUCKINGHAM.—This gentleman concluded his course of Lectures on the India and China Monopoly, and the discussion of the important question, 'What is to be done with India?' on Wednesday evening. He was attended throughout by the most respectable inhabitants of Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and the neighbouring watering places, who testified their high sense of his important labours, by loud and repeated cheerings.

'As an orator, Mr. Buckingham is entitled to rank amongst the first in the first rank of extempore speakers. He is never at a loss for language, distinct and appropriate, in one loftier and mightier than that which preceded it. His voice is clear and agreeable, and capable of every variety of modulation and tone,—he is cool or impassioned, serious or jocular, pathetic or indignant, encouraging or commanding, as the nature of the subject he is discussing requires; his feelings are always in accordance with it,—like his language, illustration, and instructive anecdotes, they are always under his command. The same may be said of his gesticulation; it is chaste and varied, and adapted to the nature of his discourse. It seems to come upon him unsought for—he could not repress it if he wished to do so. Indeed, we venture to say, that, in the eagerness to reach the understanding and conviction of his hearers, he is scarcely aware that he uses an arm, yet he is never caught in an ungraceful attitude. The East India Company never had an opponent so powerful, and completely fitted to expose the evils of the exclusive privileges which they have so long enjoyed. Our enterprising merchants we are sure will follow up the proceedings which they have already adopted, and unite with the other great commercial towns in the kingdom, in lending their aid to remove the disabilities under which they have so long laboured.'

'DINNER TO MR. BUCKINGHAM.—The strong and general interest excited by the delivery of Mr. Buckingham's lectures in this town, so increased with each succeeding day, that a number of the principal inhabitants came to a resolution to manifest their approbation of this gentleman's labours, and their concurrence in his views, by entertaining him with a dinner at the Tontine Hotel, on Friday evening last, just before his setting out for Edinburgh. Baillie Leitch, Chief Magistrate, in the chair; James Watt, Esq., croupier.

'In the course of the evening, various toasts were proposed, in harmony with the spirit of the meeting, which was addressed by the Chief Magistrate, by Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Wallace of Kelly, Mr. Watt, Mr. Thom, Mr. Fairrie, and others. In these, the principal topics were, the evils under which the whole country is now la-

bouring, in consequence of its productive powers being so great, while the existing markets for consumption are all supplied; and the indispensable necessity, therefore, of claiming from the Legislature a free admission to all the markets of the globe to which our power extends.

'The entertainment was altogether one of the most agreeable description, equally honourable to the givers and the receiver: and notwithstanding that most of the individuals had, on the preceding evening, been engaged in the festivities of opening the Royal Exchange at Glasgow, there was as much freshness, vivacity, and even enthusiasm, as if the longest interval had intervened between.—*Greenock Advertiser*.—Sept. 4.

'MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURE ON PALESTINE.—This lecture was attended on Friday evening by the most numerous and fashionable audience we have ever seen within the walls of the Assembly Room. The Orator spoke for more than three hours. The breathless silence with which he was listened to, interrupted occasionally by immense cheering, evinced the intense interest that prevailed. The audience were completely under his sway—they could no more resist the impression he wished to make, or fail to catch a portion of his spirit, than he himself could resist the impulse of deep feeling with which he was borne away. It was indeed a highly interesting and imposing discourse—one continued and unconstrained torrent of eloquence, 'deep, fervid, limitless, and strong.' We will not lessen the effect which it produced by attempting even an outline of it.

'In our last we stated that he was the most powerful opponent the East India Company ever had. He seems to have been destined for the task, and we are much mistaken if he do not sap the foundation of this odious monopoly, and eventually overturn it altogether. There is a union of every quality in him for the work. Oratory, natural and unassuming—energy, determination, and an inexhaustible fund of information—a heart sympathising with the woes of suffering humanity—a philanthropy which embraces in one wide grasp the myriads of our fellow creatures who are still immersed in the darkness of superstition. The mercantile world cannot but follow and support him, the Christian world cannot but aid him with their prayers, for the successful issue of his crusade; for a wider field never was opened for Christian benevolence than will be opened at the expiration, we trust, of the present charter.'—*Ib.* Sept. 8.

From Greenock I returned through Glasgow to Edinburgh, and there gave a concluding Lecture on the question 'What is to be done with India?' which was attended by an audience of about 500 persons, and a large number went away, from inability to obtain seats. It was most enthusiastically received, and ended by a vote of thanks being moved by Mr. Baillie Spittal, and seconded by Mr. J. Macfarlane, thus closing my labours in Scotland for the year. I had visited Paisley and Leith; but the one of these was so near to Glasgow, and the other to Edinburgh, that the majority of the inhabitants who felt an interest in the question had attended the Lectures at the larger places; but it might be safely said, on the whole, that not less than 20,000 different individuals had been hearers of these Lectures in Scotland, while, from the continued agitation of the subject in the newspapers of the country, there could scarcely have been an individual capable of reading, to whom the question had not become one of almost unavoidable interest.

SCARBOROUGH.

I LEFT Edinburgh for Scarborough, in the Steam Packet, hoping to find there an assemblage of Members of Parliament, and wealthy families, for which it is a favourite summer retreat. The experiment was, however, so unfavourable, from the intervention of the Doncaster Race week, which had drawn off nearly all the company, that not more than 30 persons attended. At the suggestion of some of these few, who expressed great pleasure at what they had heard, the conclusion of the Course was postponed for ten days, and in the mean time, I proceeded to Whitby.

WHITBY.

My arrival at this place was just at the period of Mr. Sadler, the Member for Newark, having visited it, and dined with the principal shipowners, on which occasion he delivered a speech, replete with denunciations of Mr. Huskisson, the free trade policy, and all its abettors. This was preceded by a letter, written by an intelligent magistrate of that town, who had been himself a shipowner, in praise of Mr. Huskisson's system, and published in the *Liverpool Times*. The circumstances arising out of this may be best understood by the following extract from the *York Courant* of the date referred to:—

'In our last, we stated, that the celebrated Orientalist, Mr. Buckingham, was about to deliver a series of Lectures at Whitby, in the course of which he would undertake to show the fallacy of Mr. Sadler's views respecting the shipping interest. These lectures have, we are assured, had an effect upon the minds of his enlightened and respectable auditories, which is calculated to *unsettle* their faith in Mr. Sadler's politics, notwithstanding the vividness of that gentleman's oratory. A contemporary has thus noticed Mr. Buckingham's Lectures:—

'Mr. Buckingham's arrival at Whitby was just after the dinner given to Mr. Sadler, and while the town was almost exclusively occupied with the denunciations with which the latter gentleman had assailed the principles and practice of the free-traders and political economists. The moment was therefore thought peculiarly unfavourable for the successful reception of Mr. Buckingham's views, as to the advantages of that free trade which Mr. Sadler had just taken so much pains to misrepresent, as well as to decry. Notwithstanding this, however, Mr. Buckingham issued, in addition to the usual announcement of his Lectures, an especial invitation to the ship-owners and merchants of Whitby, to whom he pledged his readiness to prove, to their entire satisfaction, that they all suffered great injury from the continued exclusion of their ships and capital from ports under the control of the East India Company, where foreigners resort freely, though British vessels and British subjects are shut out; and that it is not by free trade, but by the existing obstacles which are still interposed to prevent that free trade being extended to all parts of the world, that the depression of the shipping interest has been produced.

'And what has been the result? Why, that the Lectures of Mr. Buckingham, held in the very room in which the dinner was given to Mr. Sadler, have been attended by nearly twice the number of auditors which that gentleman had, though such powerful interest, and such especial pains were taken to collect them in the one case, with the attraction of a sumptuous dinner, and excellent wines super-added; while in the other, no step beyond the ordinary announcement by advertisement, was taken, and the fare to be supplied was wholly intellectual. Mr. Buckingham's audiences increased in number each succeeding evening, and on the third, the last to which our information extends, not only was the room entirely filled, but a number of persons, for want of room below, occupied the music-gallery. Among the auditors have been seen the principal merchants, ship-owners, and gentry of the town and surrounding country. Our worthy member, Colonel Wilson, (who, strange to say, happens to be Mr. Buckingham's next door neighbour in London), was observed to be among the audience. Mr. Edward Chapman, the chairman of the dinner given to Mr. Sadler, has been throughout a constant and punctual attendant, as indeed have most of the persons who participated in that festivity. It is to be regretted, that the honourable member for Newark, Mr. Sadler, did not himself remain either to gather new laurels by his exposition of Mr. Buckingham's errors, if errors they be, or to yield the palm to his truths, if, upon examination, they should be found to deserve that character; for either one or the other at least they must be. That he was duly apprised of Mr. Buckingham's intentions, and even urgently pressed to attend them, we happen to know from good authority; but the tranquillity of Redcar appeared to have greater attractions for the honourable gentleman, than a further sojourn in Whitby—flattering as had been his reception among the inhabitants of that place. To be sure, there might have been some disadvantageous comparisons and contrasts, between a speech upon the shipping interests, by Mr. Sadler, who despises all theorists, and will admit of no evidence but that of practical men; but who at the same time, can really know nothing whatever of

ships or seamen, except as a theorist—having been all his life bred and occupied as a trader in linens, in an inland town, and never having either performed voyages by sea, or lived amongst those who had:—we say, that a speech on the shipping interests from such a man, might perhaps have been rather disadvantageously contrasted with a speech on the shipping interests by Mr. Buckingham, who went to sea at nine years of age, who commanded a ship before he was twenty-one, and who has visited almost every part of the globe, by sea and land, as a navigator, a merchant, and a traveller. The shrewd ship-owners of Whitby, most of whom have themselves been sailors—could not fail to distinguish the wide difference between a man speaking of that which was perfectly new, and scarcely intelligible to himself—and a man explaining to others that with which he had been familiar from his cradle, and which had formed, indeed, the principal object, and as it were the natural and professional pursuit of his life. Yet this is just the distinction between Mr. Sadler and Mr. Buckingham, as speakers or writers on the shipping interest; and we really cannot help thinking, that if the ship-owners of Whitby or Hull, of Whitehaven or Newcastle—of Greenock, Liverpool, or Bristol—think it essential to their interest to have a representative in Parliament, or an advocate at public dinners—a seamen and a navigator is a more appropriate person than a farmer or a linen-draper: and he who unites to theory the most extensive experience and practice—a better man than one who is destitute both of the one and the other.

'Mr. Sadler may be a very fit and appropriate person to represent the Duke of Newcastle, in the House of Commons, his Grace himself being confined to the narrow limits of the House of Lords; and he may very adequately discharge all the important duties imposed upon him by his Grace's tenants and retainers in the borough of Newark-upon-Trent: but we repeat again, that on any question connected with shipping and commerce, Mr. Buckingham's practical knowledge and multifarious experience must render him a much more appropriate representative of the shipping and mercantile interests of this great maritime and commercial community. As to the other qualification, the power of communicating vividly, clearly, and agreeably his own thoughts and feelings to others, it is admitted on all hands, by the universally concurrent testimony of writers on both sides of politics, and by auditors of all parties, that Mr. Buckingham is pre-eminently successful in its display: and the most striking manner in which we can show this, by comparison, is by saying, that while Mr. Sadler, after all the comfort and excitement produced by an excellent dinner, found it difficult to preserve the sustained attention of his hearers for an hour and three quarters—himself and the whole party halting twice on their way to refresh themselves with a glass of wine (that detestable foreign production, which by the mischievous free-trader has been made to supplant the home production of pure water springing from our native wells, but which there is no sin in drinking, though the political economists who encourage its importation ought to be exiled for commending)—Mr. Buckingham, without any such aids, and without a single pause or interruption for even a moment of time, so completely rivetted the attention of an audience of double the number, at the same place, and in the same room, that during a period of more than three hours, the silence might be described as almost breathless, and its conclusion was, in each instance, terminated by a burst of applause, which sufficiently indicated the feeling universally expressed from all quarters of the room, that the auditors could have remained for three hours longer, without the least sense of weariness or fatigue, so deeply had their feelings and their judgment been interested in the facts, arguments, and illustrations, by which Mr. Buckingham supports the very opposite position of Mr. Sadler's policy, and shows that in proportion as nations have encumbered their intercourse with each other, by restrictions, they have declined from their high and palmy state, and become powerless and wretched; while in proportion as they have made that intercourse free and unrestrained, they have become wealthy, powerful, and happy.

'We are further enabled to add, that in addition to the interest excited in the shipping and mercantile circles of Whitby itself, we learn that a number of wealthy and intelligent individuals, who happened to be there as visitors from Scarborough and the neighbouring country, were also deeply impressed by Mr. Buckingham's Lectures, as to the importance of opening to British enterprise the present monopolized markets and ports of the East. Among those visitors were Messrs. Strutt, of the extensive Manufacturing Establishment, near Derby, who were accompanied by Mr. Gisborne, a gentleman

recently from India, and Mr. William Evans, the late Member for Leicester, whose philanthropic and liberal views on all questions of policy and trade are well known. From each of these gentlemen, who attended Mr. Buckingham's Lectures during their stay in Whitby, he received invitations to visit their part of the country, with assurances of a cordial reception, and every aid in the promotion of his public views.—*Courant*.

At the close of the last Lecture at Whitby, Resolutions were moved, seconded, and carried, without a single dissentient voice, for the formation of an East India Association, to oppose the existing Monopoly, and open India and China to British enterprise, so that the triumph of the friends of liberal principles was complete.

From Whitby I proceeded to Stockton and Darlington, in Durham, and thence to Newcastle, Sunderland, and Shields.

STOCKTON.

At this place my first audience consisted of 15 persons only, and 13 of these were of one family; they gradually increased, however, every evening, and at last amounted to 260, which, with reference to the size and population of the town, was larger than an audience of 50,000 in London, where more than 100 persons had never yet been collected to attend a discourse on the same subject! The spirit evinced, too, was one of cordial co-operation in the measures proposed, for effecting a change in the existing system of intercourse between this country and India.

DARLINGTON.

At Darlington, where a large portion of the principal inhabitants are of the Society of Friends, the commencement was more auspicious, the number of the first audience being 70, and going on increasing gradually to 280. The principal difficulty here, indeed, was to obtain a room large enough to accommodate the auditors; and some obstructions were experienced in that particular, not very commendable to the individual (for it was from one person only that the objection came) who so injudiciously, but happily ineffectually, endeavoured to discourage, or, at least, to inconvenience, those who gave the cause their presence and support. The result in both these small towns was such as to justify the belief that there is scarcely even a village in the kingdom in which there is not now sufficient of intelligence to perceive the evils, of virtue to feel indignant at the vices, and of public spirit to oppose the further progress of the mischiefs, arising out of the present system of governing India, provided they could be made acquainted with the facts by means of such personal visits among them as this.

NEWCASTLE.

At Newcastle, the great Metropolis of the North, still greater success awaited my labours. The Lectures were there commenced in the small Assembly Room, and were attended at the first by about 100 hearers. These, however, increased nightly, with such rapidity, that we were obliged to go from the apartment first selected, to the large Assembly Room, which has no superior for size and proportions out of London; and on the last night, even that was found but barely sufficient to accommodate comfortably an audience of nearly 600 persons. The impression made by the whole Course was evidently of the most favourable description; and the last, that on the Monopoly of the East India Company, was deemed so important, that, at the request of a great number of the leading individuals of the town, it was repeated in the Theatre of Newcastle, which, on that occasion, contained an audience of more than 700 individuals, and among these, were included some of the principal families of the surrounding country, as well as all the leading inhabitants of the town.

SUNDERLAND AND SHIELDS.

At Shields and Sunderland the effect was quite as powerful, in proportion to their population, as at Newcastle; and at each, a change of room became necessary to accommodate the constantly increasing number of the attendants. At each place, too, the private hospitalities of which I was made a welcome participator, were such as to shew, that great private, or individual interest, was felt in the instrument of the cause, as well as great public zeal experienced in desiring to promote its success. At all the five places last named, being within a short distance of each other, public meetings were held after the Lectures were closed; public thanks voted to me for my labours in each; public resolutions passed, and public Associations formed, for prosecuting with vigour, such measures as might be deemed best calculated to secure the object in view.

RETURN TO LONDON.

AFTER having been thus instrumental in exciting this spirit through so wide a range of country, from London in the South, to Aberdeen in the North, and from Bristol, Liverpool, and Carlisle, in the West, to Newcastle, Sunderland, and Shields, in the East, with many of the great cities and towns lying between these wide extremes;—after having been absent from my home for nearly six months in continuity;—and during the whole of that period (with one single interruption arising from a second attack of quinsey at Glasgow) having given at least one Lecture *every day*, (Sundays alone excepted); sometimes two, and on one occasion three, at three different places in the *same day*, occupying never less than 2 hours, frequently 3, and on some occasions 4, and even 5 hours in the delivery;—having never suffered even journeying to prevent this daily labour, frequently travelling 70 or 80 miles in the morning, and addressing a crowded assembly on the evening of the same day;—and in addition to this, profiting by every occasion that presented itself, whether at a Masonic procession, a festive entertainment, or a social private party; at a missionary meeting, in a theatre, or at a public ball—wherever and whenever the opportunity offered, to make it a medium through which to enlist the sympathies, and at which to obtain the pledges of individuals, in behalf of the cause;—after all this, I returned to town, and rejoined my own domestic circle, in the month of December 1829.

In reflecting on the great pleasure that I received from the private hospitalities and friendly attentions lavished upon me during this Tour, I feel it difficult to express in adequate terms my sense of so much unmerited honour, and quite as difficult to say in what quarter of the island I found myself most completely at home. A hundred names at least occur to me, as those of bosom friends, a thousand as those of most agreeable and cordial acquaintances, and indeed their very number prevents enumeration of them in detail; and independently of all the public good which I hope and believe will be achieved by the labours of the past year, I would not exchange the private and individual happiness which I derive from the pleasurable recollections it affords, for that of any single year of my existence.

ADDRESSES.

As a close to this Narrative, I subjoin the several Addresses, which, in the course of my last journey I had occasion to make, including that delivered at the Meeting of the Bible Society at Whitby,—the Reply to Mr. Sadler's Speech on the Shipping Interests, made at a public dinner at the same place,—the Address to the Masonic Body, on laying the foundation stone of a Bridge across the Clyde,—and the Speech at the Opening of the Royal Exchange at Glasgow,—each of which will tend to confirm the assertion previously made,

that on every occasion that presented itself, I was ready to turn it to the best account, as a medium for enlisting the sympathies of the British public, of every rank, class, or sect, in favour of the great cause of Indian Improvement.

REPORT OF THE SPEECH

Delivered at the Eleventh Anniversary of the Whitby Auxiliary Bible Society, on Friday, the 18th Sept., 1829.

In rising to second the motion which has been so ably and eloquently introduced to your notice by the accomplished speaker who has just concluded his address, I may venture to say that I participate as largely as any individual member of this crowded assembly in the general satisfaction which the object and conduct of this meeting are so well calculated to afford. I might, perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, have contented myself with merely expressing this satisfaction, and permitting the motion to pass at once to the vote; but, having been so pointedly alluded to by the several speakers who have preceded me, and invited by name to give some details respecting the countries I have traversed in the East, I should be wanting in respect to those who have so honoured me, and in justice to the cause itself, were I to remain entirely silent on this occasion. I fear, however, that what I have to offer will be infinitely less agreeable than what has been already presented to you, for, hitherto you have been chiefly flattered with the pleasing representations of the great good which your united efforts have actually achieved: while it must be my less grateful province to point out to you how much yet remains to be accomplished, and thereby, if possible, to stimulate you to new sacrifices and to renewed exertions. The greater number of those whom I have now the pleasure to address must, of course, be aware that the immediate object of my visit to Whitby is of a specific and peculiar nature; it being my wish to call the attention of its inhabitants, as ship-owners and merchants more particularly, to the importance of improving our political and commercial relations with the East: but, though this is the main purpose of my visit here, yet so important do I hold the object which has brought you together in the same place, that I pledge myself to forget, for a moment, the predominant feeling of my own mind, and to confine myself, in what I shall now say, to the strict limits of our present purpose, by shewing you the condition of the Eastern World generally, with reference to its religious wants and the best means of supplying them, and the state of India more especially, with reference to its degrading superstitions, and the wide field which that country offers for the exercise of your benevolence and zeal.

Before I enter upon this topic, however, allow me, in support of the views maintained by those who have already addressed you, to supply a very striking example, which seems to have escaped them, from our own history, of the wonderful and beneficial change produced by the circulation of the Scriptures in countries where they before existed, but only as a sealed book: because, from what *has* been, may very fairly be inferred what may *again* be the result of such a step. The period to which I allude is that of our great, and as it is often most appropriately called, glorious Reformation. The principal feature of that great work was to break down the spiritual dominion then exercised by the Pope, and to place the Scriptures in the hands of all classes, in a language intelligible to all, with perfect freedom, not merely of perusal, but of interpretation or acceptance of its contents. And what was the issue? Why, that men becoming possessed of what was hitherto sealed up from their inspection, exercised their diligence in examining, and their judgment in interpreting it for themselves; so that the dominion of the priesthood was destroyed, and religion became what it ought every where to be, a free and unfettered communion between the soul and its Creator. Take, thus, the picture of England, Holland, Germany, and other northern countries then under Papal sway, and lay it beside a picture of the same countries since they have been emancipated from the priestly yoke, and see the amazing difference: in the one case, bigotry and ignorance were the greatest characteristics of the age; in the other, liberality and intelligence have happily succeeded: and to this no single event has, perhaps, more powerfully contributed than that which placed the Scriptures in every man's hands, with full liberty to judge for himself of all that they contained. In short, in comparing, even at the present moment, the several countries of the earth that are

nominally under what are called Christian Governments, you will find that where the Bible is still withheld from the inspection of the people at large, and where even the few who are permitted to read it are obliged to shape their faith according to the dictates of their spiritual teachers, as is especially the case in Spain and Portugal, bigotry and ignorance still prevail; while in those countries in which the Scriptures are most freely circulated, and where religious liberty is most extensively enjoyed, as is the case in England and America, there the very opposite picture is presented, and there freedom, intelligence, morality, and happiness, are the fruits which it produces. But let me pass to the condition of that portion of the globe which I have been more especially called upon to describe.

The first of the Eastern countries which it was my lot to visit, as a traveller, was Egypt; and it was, of course, impossible for me to tread the banks of the Nile, from among the bulrushes of which Moses was taken up by the daughter of Pharaoh,—to traverse the land of Goshen, or cross the Red Sea to the Desert of Wandering,—to behold the stupendous monuments, in the erection of which, it is at least probable, that the enslaved and captive Israelites were employed—and not to feel an additional interest in every thing connected with its scriptural history, or to be indifferent to the state and condition of the people among whom those Scriptures were still held in esteem. The government of that country, as you are aware, is in the hands of Mohammedans, by whom Christianity is rejected, and its professors subjected to disabilities and oppressions. Accordingly, the circulation of the Scriptures is extremely limited in Egypt. Nevertheless, inasmuch as there are still a number of professing Christians, of the several sects denominated as Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, Maronites, &c., having religious establishments and places of worship in Egypt, the introduction of the Scriptures among them might not be a work of difficulty, and from them it might the more readily pass into the hands of those who would be otherwise inaccessible; while in consequence of the degraded and corrupt state of the Christians themselves, it may be said that the Scriptures, if presented in a language in which they could be familiarly read, would be likely to effect as great a change among them as among those who profess not their faith; for scarcely any thing can be conceived more remote from the simple purity of Christianity, than the rites, ceremonies, and dogmas designated by that name in the East.

The countries that I next visited, and which may be well associated together on this occasion as one, namely, Palestine and Mesopotamia, possessed a still stronger Scriptural interest than even Egypt; for, while gazing on the walls and towers of Jerusalem,—crossing the brook Kedron by the Pool of Siloam,—treading the Mount of Olives, and entering Bethany and Bethpage, Bethelhem and Nazareth,—who could be indifferent to the Sacred Volume that recorded all the events of which these spots were the scenes and witnesses?—If I bathed myself in the waters of the Jordan, or lingered on the shores of the Dead Sea,—if I hung with delight on the glorious prospects from Lebanon, or reposed among the bowers of Damascus,—in short, whatever path my footsteps traced, whether it led me through the ruins of Tyre and Sidon, of the fields and vallies of remoter solitudes, every rock and every eminence, every brook and every rivulet, had its own especial history, and roused up a thousand Scriptural associations. Yet here, too, as in Egypt, the government is in the hands of Mohammedans; and though there are not wanting professing Christians in considerable number and variety, both as residents and as pilgrims, yet the Scriptures are so little known and understood among them, and so little vigilance is exercised by those whose duty it is to be always active in the cause, that they correspond exactly with the description given by the prophet, when he speaks of the “shepherds that sleep” while the fold is in danger, and the “watchmen who slumber” while the citadel is invaded.

In Mesopotamia, the darkness is even greater still. At Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham, and over all the country beyond the great river Euphrates, Christianity is less and less to be found, even in name, and still more remote from its original purity in character; so much so, that there is one sect who consider themselves to be in some degree Christians, as they profess to follow a gospel of St. John; but their claim to that appellation may be judged from the fact of their actually paying divine honours to Satan, and quoting a passage of this gospel in their defence. The awful ruins of Nineveh and Babylon stand upon the banks of their respective streams,

the Tigris and Euphrates, in all the silent gloom of utter desolation: and traversing their vast remains with the Scriptural descriptions of their grandeur fresh in my recollection, it was impossible not to feel all the sadness which characterised the captive Israelites of old, when, instead of singing the songs of Zion as in happier days—they hung their harps upon the willows, and sat themselves down by the waters of Babylon and wept.

In passing from thence into Persia, there was not much improvement, although there a ray of hope had begun to illumine the general darkness. In every part of that country, the European character is so highly respected, that almost any measure coming from Europeans, and Englishmen especially, would be sure to meet with less resistance than in any other part of the Mohammedan world. While Persia is, therefore, quite as destitute as all the other countries of Asia, in a moral and religious sense, it appears to me that it offers a less obstructed channel for the introduction of a great change in this particular respect, than any other of the surrounding states. I may add to this general assertion a fact which came under my own personal observation, and which tends to shew what might be done in Persia by judicious men and judicious measures. The Rev. Henry Martyn, whose name must be familiar to most of you, and whose character stands high wherever his name is known, was in Persia, just previous to the period of my passing through that country; and at Shiraz, I met with several Mollahs, or teachers of the Mohammedan faith, from whom I learnt that Mr. Martyn's life and conversation had produced the most surprising effect in softening the usual hostility between Mohammedans and Christians; that the most learned Muftis had conversed freely with him, on points of faith and doctrine, and that they had come to the conclusion, that there were not such insuperable barriers between them as they had at first conceived. Such a step as this is most important, because from the moment those who are in error can be brought to listen patiently to the truth, hopes may be entertained of its final triumph; for, as Milton has beautifully observed, "though all the winds of doctrine were let loose upon the earth, so truth be among them, we need not fear. Let her and falsehood grapple: who ever knew her put to the worst, in a free and open encounter?"

From Persia I proceeded to India, and there I remained as a resident for several years. It might be expected that in a country so long under our dominion as that has been, the same backwardness with respect to the spread of truth and sound religion would not have been observed; but I regret to say that while in India the reign of superstition is more widely spread, and more terrible in its degrading effects, than in any of the countries I have yet mentioned; the obstacles thrown in the way of those who are impatient to substitute a better order of things, are quite as great as in either of them. Let me mention only one or two of the revolting practices which their superstition engendered, and still upholds, and you will then see what a vast field a hundred millions of beings, so immersed in darkness, must afford for British benevolence and Christian reformation.

The most popularly known of these Indian rites, is that of the burning of Hindoo widows on the funeral piles of their husbands. To such a frightful extent is this carried, that, in the course of ten years, according to a parliamentary report made on this subject, nearly seven thousand Indian widows were burnt alive! Even if the practice were undoubtedly enjoined by their sacred books, and were always performed voluntarily; but it rests upon very doubtful authority even in their own writings, one of the most learned of their Brahmins having written several works to show, that the practice is at least but optional, and of comparatively recent date; and in by far the greater number of cases, it is not voluntary, the parties being drugged with opiates, deluded by priests, and terrified by threats, into compliance. In addition to this they are frequently bound down with cords and ligatures to the funeral pile, so that their escape would be impossible, however much they might desire it; and in those few instances in which the parties have been left unbound, and have leaped off the pile as soon as the flames began to envelop their slender frames, they have been most inhumanly seized by the fanatic by-standers, and flung back again into the flames, with their scorched and mangled limbs dropping off from their bodies, thus expiring amidst the most horrid and protracted tortures that the human imagination can conceive!

And all this under the sanction, by the authority, and with the countenance and protection, of a Government calling itself Christian!—that of the East India Company.

What appears to me to add greatly to the horror of this diabolical sacrifice, is the consideration that it puts out of existence those who are the most worthy to live; as, whatever there may be of voluntary submission to this rite on the part of those who are its victims, must spring from one of these motives: either first, the devotional motive, or a willingness to offer up life, and all that can endear it, rather than forfeit the hope of future happiness, or incur the displeasure of the Supreme Being,—which though their faith be grounded in error, they may most sincerely believe, and act upon in the way they think most conducive to that end; or secondly, the domestic motive, an extreme attachment to the object of their affections, and an unwillingness to survive him, who was not merely their husband and protector, but their best and only friend; or, thirdly, the social motive, or an abhorrence of living in a society without a full participation in its honours and enjoyments, and an unwillingness to have their lives prolonged, if they could only live as outcasts, repudiated by their relatives and families, and despised even by strangers as well as friends. These appear to me to be the only conceivable motives of such a submission to suffering on the part of the unfortunate, but still amiable and interesting, widows of the East. And yet, surely, these are motives which do them honour, and which prove what excellent materials must exist in a society capable of producing such instances of self-devotion, for the construction of a better and happier community. For who is there among us that does not honour, with the highest distinction, the female penitent and devotee, who, rather than do that which should forfeit her the hope of heaven, would sacrifice her life, and all that she held at her disposal? Who is there among us that does not equally honour with our sympathy and our admiration, the young and affectionate widow, whose sorrow at the death of her husband and lord so surpasses all ordinary bounds, as to evince itself in paroxysms of grief that drive the unhappy victim sometimes to the verge of insanity, and leave her in such a state as will permit her to see nothing but perpetual gloom in the prospect of the future, so that if the sublime faith of Christianity had not taught her that self-destruction was a crime against the awful majesty of the Creator, she would be as much disposed as the Indian widow to sink at once into the grave that seems about to close upon the remains of all that the earth held dear in her estimation? Who, I may also ask, can there be among us, that does not equally honour the female, be she virgin, wife, or widow, whose strongest feeling, next to devotion, is her love of an unsullied reputation, who could not bear the thought of sustaining existence otherwise than honourably, and who would rather die a thousand deaths, than live to have the finger of scorn pointed at her as one who had outlived her untainted name? And shall all these be deemed *virtues* in Britain, and *vices* in Hindoostan? It is impossible. The motive is in both cases equally honourable; and the mis-direction of that motive in the case of the Indian widows, appears to me only to strengthen their claims on our sympathy and commiseration, as where so good a soil exists, the seed cannot be sown in vain.

The other abominable rite of which I shall now speak (for I confine myself to the two prominent ones, although there are a hundred that might be detailed), is the pilgrimage to Juggernaut. This is the name of an idol which is worshipped at a place called Pooree, on the sea-coast of Orissa, between Madras and Bengal, and to whose shrine pilgrimages are made from different parts of India. The lives annually sacrificed to this monstrous idol surpass all credibility; but it may be sufficient to say, that the approach to the temple is indicated, for fifty miles on all sides round, by the mangled and decaying carcases of those who have perished as his victims. Will it be believed that the East India Company, not content with remaining merely indifferent spectators of all these atrocities, which, of itself, would, I think, be sufficient to warrant their condemnation—absolutely make these horrid and revolting rites a source of pecuniary profit to themselves? Nay, more; not only do they receive all the revenues arising from fees and tribute paid to the idol, themselves defraying the costs of his maintenance, providing him with meat and drink and clothing, and keeping up a brothel, or establishment of courtezans and prostitutes, for the service of the priests! paying, therefore, the wages of sin and death, and placing the surplus among the unholy and polluted gains which swell their common treasury; but they go farther still, and, in order to augment these gains, they have organized a body of pilgrim-

hunters, under the name of Pundas and Purharees, whose especial business it is to go abroad all over the country, and traverse it in every direction, in search of pilgrims, for the purpose of bringing them in companies to Juggernaut. Lest the ordinary motive of superstition should be insufficient to induce these wretched emissaries to perform their tasks with proper zeal, the East India Company have superadded to motive of what, in this instance, may be truly called "base lucre;" for these pilgrim-hunters are actually paid, at a fixed rate per head, for every fresh victim they bloody and revolting scene; and wherever they find a man who has a sufficient sum of money in his possession, the hard earnings, perhaps, of years of industry and frugality, they seize on him as their victim, persuade him to leave his wife and family, and go on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut. He quits his home, with the promise, perhaps, of a speedy return; but, alas! the hour for his recrossing the threshold of his cottage never arrives. He is led, by these delusive guides, to the idol and his car. In the expense of his journey, in fees to the India Company, and in the premium, or head-money, paid to his decoyers, every farthing will be exhausted. He enters the temple, joins in the horrid din of its filthy and brutal uproar, comes out of it naked and penniless, and, before three days are passed over his head, perishes for want, in the very precincts of the temple, where thousands are annually expended in the grossest sensualities! and the whole plain, for fifty miles round in every direction, is literally whitened with the bones of the victims thus offered up as sacrifices to this most monstrous of all superstitions, or, should I not rather say, to its chief supporters and abettors—the bigotry and fanaticism of the Brahmins, and the heartlessness and avariciousness of the East India Company?

These things are so extraordinary, as well as so revolting, that I should have almost hesitated to put my own reputation for veracity in jeopardy, by even alluding to them at all, were I not speaking under the sanction of the highest and most unquestionable authorities. In a very copious and excellent Report of a Speech made at the East India House, only a year or two ago, by a Proprietor of East India Stock, Mr. Poynder; in a very valuable little volume, entitled "India's Cries to British Humanity," written by Mr. Peggs, an inhabitant of Coventry, who resided some time in India: in a still more recent work, entitled "Reflections on the Present State of British India," published by Hurst and Chance, of London, in the present year, 1829; and in the various Parliamentary Papers that have been, from time to time, produced on this subject, all these facts are stated in detail, on the authority of men in the service of the East India Company itself, and in such a way as to render its accuracy and authenticity beyond all doubt.

And shall the Christians and philanthropists of Britain remain silent and inactive under such a state of things as this? It would be so deep a reproach to them to suppose it, that I will not, even for a moment, entertain the bare supposition. That the existing government of India, with all its repeated professions of a readiness to assist in the spread of Christianity in the East, have no such wish really at heart, I could adduce a thousand proofs; but their supporting and profiting by such a superstition as this that I have just described, will, no doubt, be deemed sufficient. Let me add to this the fact, that the largest establishment of Missionaries now in India, those at Serampore, were obliged to plant themselves in this foreign settlement, (for it belongs to the Danes,) rather than in Calcutta, or any other spot under the dominion of the English; because, in the foreign settlement they were allowed perfect toleration, and the enjoyment of a free press; whereas, in the English settlement they could only be tolerated from day to day, with the liability to be transported at a moment's warning, without trial or hearing of any kind whatever, and for any reason or no reason, as the Government need not condescend to give any to those whom they banish; besides being subject to a rigid censorship or control over the press, which gives to the India Company's servants the same monopoly of religion as their masters enjoy of political power and trade; which, therefore, enables them to compel every writer to shape his opinions and expressions according to the Government standard of orthodoxy, (not allowing even Mohammed to be called a false prophet, though any Mohammedan in India may preach in any mosque of the country that Christ and his apostles were impostors): and which, if Christians should be sufficiently imbued with their Divine Master's spirit, to love truth better than falsehood, and to speak plainly

and honestly, whether those in authority liked such qualities or not, gives to those invested with rule in that country, power to suppress any publication they dislike; first interrupting the public good it may be doing, and then inflicting ruin by the destruction of all the property of those who may be instrumental in doing it. The last law passed on that subject in India, the work of Mr. John Adam, during his brief and temporary rule of a few weeks only, but never yet repealed, gives the Government the power to prohibit, not merely the printing and publishing, but also the selling, distributing, or even lending for perusal, any book or paper whatever, whether printed in England or elsewhere, to which the Governor-General, in any fit of caprice or ill-humour, may happen to take a dislike!

This, Sirs, is the actual state of things in India at the present moment: and the monstrous and absurd pretence upon which it is attempted to be defended is, that if knowledge be spread among the natives of India, they will be alarmed at our intended interference with their superstitions, and this will lead them to rebel and expel us from the country. In such an assembly as this, I need hardly waste a moment in combatting so monstrous and untenable a position. We all know that increased knowledge produces increasing benefits; and as to the danger to be apprehended from any reasonable, persuasive, and legislative measures, to interfere with the superstitions of the natives, I need only refer you to the publications I have already named, to show you that in every case in which this has yet been done (and they are numerous) the change has been effected without a murmur; and that, according to the testimony and opinions of the best informed among the civil and military servants of the East India Company, whose evidence has been given on the subject, the two revolting practices that I have already described to you, the burning of human beings alive, and the sacrifice of victims at the shrine of Juggernaut, might be as easily abolished by a mere decree embodying the wish of the Government, as was the destruction of female infants in Guzerat, and the throwing children into the Ganges at Saugor.

But I will not detain you longer than to express my hope that the earnest attention with which you have listened to these details, may be an indication of that zeal with which you will follow up such measures as seem best to you for amending the existing state of things. In the circulation of the Scriptures where the people most need them, you are actuated by a desire to increase the temporal, and secure the eternal happiness of those to whom it is presented. In my humble, but not altogether different sphere, I am anxious to attain the same great ends, by other though not opposite means. In seeking to arouse the dormant spirit of this great and wealthy nation to a due sense of the importance of destroying the present, and substituting a better system of commercial and political government for India, I have really no personal motives whatever. I am neither a merchant, a ship-owner, nor a manufacturer; and as to pecuniary benefit, I know of none that I could derive from the adoption of my views respecting India to-morrow. But, as a philanthropist merely, without reference to any particular system of speculative belief, it is impossible not to feel an interest in the fate of a hundred millions of human beings, be they in what quarter of the globe they may. As a patriot, that interest becomes greatly increased by the consideration that these hundred millions are under British dominion. And, as a Christian, the interest rises still higher, by contrasting the advanced condition of those countries in which Christianity is most pure, with those in which it is still encumbered and disfigured with the grossest corruptions; and, therefore, I desire strongly to see the simple yet sublime precepts of the Gospel supplanting the degrading and demoralizing superstitions of Idolatry, in every portion of the habitable globe. I believe good political institutions and free commercial intercourse to be among the best pioneers in the cause of morality and true religion. Where the former are established, justice will hold her seat, and tranquillity and contentment be found; where the latter is permitted, knowledge will flow in from a thousand different directions, and through a thousand different channels, until its united streams so overspread the land, that those things only which are just, and true, and holy, can retain their place in general estimation; and, believing that both your labours and mine will each, in their respective spheres, conduce, under the blessing of God, to this great end, I rejoice at the occasion which has now presented itself for our acting together in so holy a cause.

The close of this Speech was followed with loud and long-continued cheers from all parts of the assembly.—*York Herald.*

REPLY TO MR. SADLER,

Introduced at the Close of the Lecture on the East India Monopoly, delivered at Whitby, on the 28th of September, 1829.

The intimate connection between this portion of my exposure of the evils of the East India Company's Monopoly, and the Shipping Interest of Great Britain, leads me, by a very natural transition, to advert to the Speech recently delivered in this Hall, and to many of the auditors who now fill it, when Mr. Sadler attempted to denounce, in general terms, the whole system of Free Trade, and to claim for his supporters, in the monstrous proposition of reverting back again to the Monopolies of the restrictive system, the Ship-builders and Ship-owners of Whitby. This appeared to me so inconceivably absurd, that I thought there must have been some misrepresentation of his views, or some misconception of their purport; and it was not until I saw the copious report of his speech, put forth with all the apparent accuracy of an official or authorised version, that I could give full credit to the idea of the Shipping Interest being appealed to, in favour of monopolies and restrictions.

It is remarkable that, but a few weeks before, the Ship-builders, Ship-owners, and Merchants of Greenock,—a port certainly no less eminent than Whitby, whether as respects its population or its tonnage, whether as regards the number and size of its ships, or the variety and importance of the voyages in which they are employed—gave a similar entertainment to myself, at which the chief magistrate presided, on the very opposite view to that which seems to have actuated those who invited Mr. Sadler to Whitby:—namely, in testimony of their conviction that the Free Trade to India, into which they were the first to enter, had been productive of the very highest advantage to the Shipping Interest: and that, instead of reverting back to the monopolies and restrictions, as Mr. Sadler recommends, the greatest benefit that could be conferred on the Ship-builders, Ship-owners, and Merchants of every port in the Kingdom, would be to destroy the giant Monopoly of the East India Company, which still excludes British ships and British seamen from the most valuable part of the globe—China and the Eastern Seas—where the Americans have, for years past, been reaping an abundant harvest; the Ship-owners of Boston and Salem growing rich at our expense, and the seamen at New York and Marblehead mocking us with derision, and rejoicing in our folly.

Let me add, however, that the people of Greenock were unanimous in their views, or, at least, that no dissenting voice was heard; whereas, at Whitby, so far from unanimity prevailing, it is well known that Mr. Moorson's excellent pamphlet, which exhibited in their true light the causes that had operated to lessen the employment for English ships, and which pointed out the only cure for the evil, namely, the still further extension of the principles of Free Trade—represented the sentiments of many other of the principal residents in Whitby; and of the dread entertained of its power, among those who wished it had never appeared, some idea may be formed from the fact, that two of the copies, sent by the printer, at the author's request, to Mr. Sadler's host, were returned to him as rejected, and the copy sent to the same individual coming acquainted with its contents.

I advert to this fact, however, principally to shew, that when the honourable member for Newark pretended, in allusion to this pamphlet, not to have seen it until he entered the room, and on that to ground an apology for his hasty and imperfect analysis of its contents, it was not for want of opportunity, as it was gratuitously and extensively circulated throughout the town, and was in the hands of all those who had uncourteously and, let me add, illiberally, rejected it.

If he had remained among you but a few days,—and as his retreat is at Redcar, but a few miles distant, that might, no doubt, have been easily accomplished,—I should, certainly, have taken some pains to increase his information on the Shipping Question, of which he appears to know so little: and, hostile as he declares himself to be to any innovation on that portion of the wisdom of our ancestors which established the Monopoly of the East India Company, I should have claimed his alliance, as one of its most determined opponents, on a ground on which, I think, he must have been com-

pelled either to recant all his former lamentations, or to co-operate with me. He condemns the system of Mr. Huskisson, because it brings the foreigner up to a level with the Englishman. What then will he say of the system of the India Company, which altogether excludes the unlicensed Englishman from the interior of India, where the unlicensed foreigner may roam at pleasure; and shuts out from China and its rich markets all English ships and seamen except their own; while foreigners, of every nation, are free to enter them without hindrance or molestation, and while Americans, more especially, are acquiring vast wealth in channels of maritime commerce, from which all British ships and seamen are pertinaciously excluded? (*Cheers.*)

Now Mr. Huskisson's system of reciprocity, be its effects what they may, is forced upon us by the legislators of foreign countries, who, as long as they are sovereigns in their own respective territories, will make such laws as suit themselves, and who accordingly say to us—"If you impose restrictions upon such of our vessels as enter your ports, we will impose equal restrictions upon such of your vessels as enter our harbours. If you will employ any of your shipping in foreign trade, it can only be by consent of us foreigners: and we decree, whether it be agreeable to you or not, that, unless you admit us to an unrestricted intercourse between our own ports and yours, we will close up our harbours to your navigation, and destroy your foreign trade entirely." What answer can we make to this?—We are not at war with all the world, and thereby enabled to command the maritime carrying trade of all nations. We are, happily, at peace, and every coast that borders on the sea, sends forth its fleets and squadrons. If in the mere coasting trade of the British Isles, and the intercourse between Great Britain and her own possessions, sufficient employment could be found for all the tonnage now possessed by us, we might then reject with impunity all overtures or propositions of foreigners. But it is notorious, that not half of our shipping could be advantageously employed in these channels only. The Baltic and the Cattegat—the Mediterranean and the Euxine—the Gulfs of Lyons and of Mexico—the Orinoco and La Plata,—are all insufficient to exhaust our mercantile marine; and yet to none of these can we trade without the consent of the several nations that occupy their borders, which consent they have the right as well as the power to fetter with such restrictions as they please. It is utterly impossible, therefore, however much we might desire it, for us to force those foreign nations to receive our ships into their ports without the imposition of heavy burthens, unless we will agree to receive their vessels into our own, upon equal terms:—so that unless the Ship-owners of England will consent to limit themselves to the trade along their own coasts, and with their own possessions,—and be ready to burn all the ships which may be found over and above the number necessary for this purpose (which would be about half the tonnage of the kingdom) there is no alternative but that of Free Trade, and equal duties, in all foreign commerce at least.

In the reciprocity system of Mr. Huskisson, therefore, we are acting under a necessity imposed on us by the inconvenient, perhaps, but, certainly, the very natural and defensible conduct of foreigners who *lift themselves* up to our level, whether we approve of it or not. But in the monopoly system of the East India Company, no such foreign influence exists.—It is an evil wholly inflicted on us by our own Legislature, for foreigners have nothing to enforce in the matter: and is the greater, inasmuch as even the few for whom it is professedly granted, derive no permanent advantage from it; while every Ship-owner, nay every individual in the country, not belonging to the East India Company, is deeply injured; and from the wreck and ruin of their interests, the unfettered foreigner goes on accumulating every year fresh stores of wealth, and establishing himself in new channels of enterprise and profit, from which it will soon be impossible to dislodge him.

Does Mr. Sadler know all this, and yet contend for no alteration in the East India Company's Monopoly? If he knows it not, then is he unfitted, by his want of knowledge, for a representative of the Shipping Interests of England: if he does know it, and ledge, for a representative of the Shipping Interests of England: if he does know it, and in the same breath contends that the Free Trade, which brings the foreigner up to our own level, ought to be condemned, while the Monopoly which puts the same foreigner far above that level, and makes him the freeman, and the Englishman the slave, should be upheld—then is Mr. Sadler doubly traitorous to the cause he attempts to defend;—the single treachery being a pretended knowledge of that of which we are ignorant,—but the more than double treachery consisting in a perverse concealment or misapplication

Reply to Mr. Sadler's Speech

of knowledge actually possessed, to the injury of the very cause it is calculated most to serve.

Let me, however, for a moment refer to a few of the passages of Mr. Sadler's address; not as he affected to treat Mr. Moorsom's, professing not to have even seen it till the moment of its being commented on; but after having deliberately read and examined every portion, of which I shall speak. It will of course be quite beside my purpose to advert to those parts of this oration, which, though delivered in Whithy, related to any thing but the subject which Mr. Sadler was expected to dilate upon. I shall confine myself to that portion which more especially affects your peculiar interests; and which, it would appear, from the report of Mr. Sadler's speech, that the honourable gentleman had nearly forgotten. There are some, indeed, who think that his reputation would have suffered nothing by the omission; since, full as is the whole with fallacies, the small portion devoted to the Shipping Question is thickly strewn with error in almost every line. It would, perhaps, have been something like the play of Hamlet, with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted by particular design: but it would have saved the author from the imputation now inevitable, that of pretending to treat familiarly a subject of which he knew not even the rudiments, with a degree of presumption almost without a parallel in the annals of political declamation. He attempts, it is true, to deprecate criticism, by affecting merely to advert to the Shipping Question as a thing that has just occurred to him *en passant*, and sets out by observing that he knew nothing whatever of the manner in which the documents representing the tonnage of the country at different periods was made up; whether they included Steam-vessels or not. But, one naturally asks, why, in this state of avowed ignorance, attempt to build up a system, with utter contempt for the most important part of it, a knowledge of the facts on which it ought to be founded? He says, indeed, "without any appeal to documents whatever, I am fully certain that to allow full scope to the reciprocity system in regard to Shipping, cannot but be fatal to prosperity."—But Mr. Sadler's certainty, however full it may be to his own mind, is a very inadequate substitute for facts and proofs.—If his convictions were built on these, it would have been easy to have communicated them, and they might have carried conviction to others also. If his certainty was not so founded, then it is as utterly worthless as any other conviction clinging still to error. Still, however, though he knows nothing whatever of the way in which any of the documents respecting the Shipping Interest are made up, and cannot, therefore, discriminate between those that represent the tonnage as increasing, or those that shew it to be on the decline:—he rejects the former, and adopts the latter, merely because he wishes to make some shew of cause for lamentation and weeping. In the amount of the tonnage belonging to Whithy, there is no doubt a decline; as there is in the amount of the tonnage belonging to the Navy—some of the largest and finest ships of which are to be seen dismantled in the harbours of Plymouth and Portsmouth, Deptford and Sheerness: and from the self same cause. One of the great branches of employment for the ships of Whithy was the transport-service. Fleets of 300 and 400 sail of ships, conveying or waiting upon armed expeditions in all parts of the world, was no unusual sight during the war: and the fortunes derived by the Ship-owners of Whithy, among others, from ships employed in the transport service, at high prices, with cheap equipments, and little occupation for wear and tear, must have been, no doubt, very agreeable to those who accumulated them. But to lament that the ships and men thus employed had fallen off in number and amount, and to infer from this the symptoms of national decay, is just about as wise a proceeding as to lament the falling off in the number of line of battle-ships and frigates that were formerly employed; the melancholy decline which has taken place in the number of men once filling the ranks of our gallant army; and the still more deplorable defalcation in the consumption of gunpowder and cannon balls. Alas! that innovation should ever have disturbed these halcyon dreams! that either our fleets or our conquer have been broken in upon! and that we cannot again return to those golden days, when it was denounced as an unwarrantable luxury for a church dignitary to have clean straw placed in his drawing room every day, while nobles and princes were content to change it once a week; or when Scotch herrings and English brawn were deemed sufficient for the costliest table, and ale was the only liquor that sparkled on the board.

It seems, however, that though the old English archers, and those who made their weapons, were lawfully displaced by the musqueteers and cannoniers who succeeded them, and the mixture of charcoal and saltpetre superseded the consumption of the ashen arrow or the beechen bow; though steam-ships have as legally superseded, in many instances, those which could not be made to sail in the wind's eye; and fuel and water have succeeded to canvass, rope, and wood; though all this has taken place without any complaint of the injustice of such supersession, the ship-owners of Whithy, whose transports are unemployed, are, by a mere relaxation of the navigation act, as much robbed and plundered as if their ships were sunk, burnt, and destroyed. Hear Mr. Sadler's own words, "that act (the navigation act) formed an essential part of the naval constitution of England, so to speak; it was on the faith of that sacred engagement—for sacred it had become in the sight of successive generations of Englishmen—that you, gentlemen, (the ship-owners of Whithy) embarked your property, which is now, much of it, (the unemployed portion of their ships) sacrificed and lost, by as direct an act of spoliation, as if the same power had seized a portion of your estates, which you hold only under the same sanction, that of the law!" Can any thing be more grossly ignorant, or more disingenuous than this? If the laws of England were like those of the Medes and Persians, any change made in them for the first time might excite an outcry; but in a country where old acts are repealed, and new ones enacted, almost every day during the sitting of Parliament—to hear a member of that Parliament designate a deliberate revision of any law, after infinite investigation and debate, as "a direct act of spoliation and plunder," leaves one in doubt whether most to admire the ignorance or the arrogance of the speaker.

But what could be expected from one whose previous habits and pursuits can have given him no practical knowledge of any thing relating to Shipping; and who despises all knowledge derived from theory; who is utterly unacquainted with the documents relating to the subject, and even of the manner of their being compiled; and who does not seem even to know (though he says he has always understood it, from common report, to be so) that Whithy is a noted ship-building station? He had visited it once before; yet, though this arose from a wish to view so interesting a spot, he remained only for a few hours, and yet pretended in that short time to become intimately acquainted with its splendid prosperity in every branch. He comes a second time, and at a long interval, not because he again wished to add to his deficient knowledge from the stores of others, or to communicate any thing of his own to them, but because he is invited to lament over the fallen fortunes of Whithy, and the decline of the Shipping Interest; and, then he accordingly observes nothing around him but proofs of misery and decay!

Gentlemen, is this really so? Is there any town or port of the kingdom—or I would say of the world—that contains so much wealth, within the same extent of population, or which every where exhibits greater proofs of equally spread comfort, and the total absence of suffering or privation of any kind? I have not, during a much longer stay among you than Mr. Sadler ventured to make, seen a single individual in rags; not one whose countenance exhibited signs of hunger; not one who appeared houseless or destitute, and not one unemployed, or asking alms. Does not, indeed, Mr. Sadler himself more accurately describe the state of your town and population, when he says, "The ship-builders and merchants of Whithy have lived in other and better times, and are, as I understand, as a body, wealthy in an unusual degree, and can, therefore, sustain these reverses, or leave the business, though at great sacrifices, which subjects them to such loss." This is, I believe, the true state of the case: but it is utterly inconsistent with the lamentations poured out in other parts of the same oration, or the pretended commiseration for the unhappy and unemployed workmen, who are not here to enjoy the sympathy manifested in their behalf, but, like the seamen and soldiers whom the peace threw out of employment, or like manufacturers of gunpowder and cannon, have gradually dispersed themselves in those quarters, and turned their industry into those channels in which employment presented itself to them.

I may refer you, however, as a very striking proof of what the ship-builders of Whithy really desire, and really anticipate, in the opening of India and China, to the ten or twelve ships that are now actually building in your stirring and busy dock-yards, which, even Mr. Sadler himself could not have failed to have seen, were not idle

and deserted, as he pretended to describe them; two of these lying on the stocks immediately opposite the window of the house in which Mr. Sadler himself resided, and one of a large and beautiful class, belonging to his host, destined expressly for the China Trade; both with their projecting prows apparently impatient to plunge into the liquid element, and stem their unfettered way towards the East; one of them with a bust of Lord Eldon at its head, as if about to lead the way; and, I confess, that when the venerable chief shall assemble his adherents, for the purpose of breaking down the restraints which now impede our commerce with the East, I shall be ready to hail him as a leader, and number myself among the most faithful of his followers. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Sadler concludes as he began, by denouncing, what he calls "the modern system," and especially that part of it which seems to be pretty current, "the practice of buying where you can buy cheapest." He considers this a fatal error: but whether he acts upon the opposite maxim in his own affairs of trade, does not appear. Any man who should follow Mr. Sadler's implied advice and buy where he could buy dearest, would have but a short career. And yet this is the system by which this friend to Monopoly, and enemy to Free Trade would pretend to enrich England, and impoverish the rest of the world! If Mr. Sadler will persist in talking of the Shipping Interest, he should, certainly, not address himself to the seamen and sea-ports of England, where the youngest cabin-boy might become his teacher. He might, perhaps, be heard contradicted on

'The barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive,
With sails and wind, their cany waggons light.'

For on this 'windy sea of land,' (as Milton most expressively calls it), he might 'wander up and down alone,' and waste his poison on the desert air. But there is not a ship-master, or a 'sea-boy, on the high and giddy mast,' that would not laugh his doctrine to scorn. (*Loud cheers.*)

Who, indeed, can there be, whether a seaman or not, that does not perceive the absurdity of a system which affects to foster the Shipping Interest by prohibiting all foreign commodities, and dictating to foreign nations the terms on which they should trade? Indeed, it appears to me that of all the absurdities that were ever yet set forth as political axioms, the most absurd is that of Mr. Sadler, who calls upon the Shipping Interest of England to support a system which shall confine the people of this country to the produce of their own soil and industry, to the exclusion of all foreign commodities,—a system which would render ships perfectly unnecessary. It would be the best thing that could happen to the Shipping Interest to see the very reverse—to have nothing but foreign produce consumed in England, and all our own produce consumed abroad, for, then, twice the number of ships that are now in existence would be required. (*Loud cheers.*)

I have drawn so largely on your patience, however, during the five hours that you have honoured me with your unbroken attention, that I should be most unreasonable indeed were I to ask you to extend it to me for a still longer period, tempting as is the occasion presented me by the fallacies so easy to be exposed. I have confined myself, however, in this notice of Mr. Sadler's speech, to that which, though it ought to have been the most essential, was really the least prominent portion of it, I mean his *allusions*, for he scarcely ventured beyond these, to the question in which his auditors were mainly, if not exclusively, interested,—the Shipping Question. As the honourable gentleman, however, took occasion to quote largely, and from authors of deservedly high repute, in favor of his peculiar views, making even Adam Smith to be an advocate for restrictions and monopolies; and invoking the shade of Bacon, as a hater of innovation; while Locke and Addison were pressed into the advocacy of views the most opposed to the general tenor of their writings; I ought not to close without protesting against such a profanation. If the authority of Adam Smith be of any worth in Mr. Sadler's estimation, what becomes of all the denunciations which the latter continually delights to pour forth against the political economists, of which Adam Smith is the prince and chief? If Bacon, whose writings abound with the constant suggestion of innovations and changes, be a philosopher, in Mr. Sadler's estimation, what does he think of that fine passage in which he speaks with due con-

tempt of those who value usage and established institutions above all improvement, and says,—“A froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new.” Really, if the writings of the ancients are to be ransacked in support of measures, and with reference to circumstances, altogether beyond their power to anticipate, it is time to oppose to this delusion the testimony of history and experience on the broadest scale; and by shewing what *has* been done by an encouragement of unfettered intercourse between nations of antiquity, to encourage the hope of what may be done, by following out the same wise course, among the nations of modern times. (*Cheers.*)

After the details which I have given you in the course of these Lectures, of all the objects of interest or importance in Palestine, you will not, I am sure, deem it irrelevant if I show you, from the most ancient authority in existence, that the vast wealth acquired by Tyre and Sidon, which gave birth to Carthage, and which exceeded in opulence and splendour all the marts of the ancient world, was wholly by means of foreign commerce. There was no landed interest at either of these places, for the territory occupied by both was scarcely larger than the Isle of Wight; the commerce was extensive and free; and foreign commodities, of every kind and description, were to be found in abundance in both. Let me refer you only to the eloquent, yet minutely detailed account, given of its trade and its riches, by the prophet Ezekiel, where you will see that there was scarcely a country of the then known world with which Tyre did not traffic, and scarcely a nation or a people who did not furnish wares, and merchandize, and traders to its port. Of the opulence, natural and individual, acquired by this freedom of trade, what further need be urged than the fact, that of Tyre and Sidon it was deemed an appropriate and characteristic description to say that their merchants were princes, and their traders the nobles of the earth.

Nor, while Hiram, King of Tyre, was thus enriching Phœnicia by his wise and liberal policy, was Solomon, the royal monarch of Judea, uninfluenced by the example. His foundation of Tadmor, in the Desert, subsequently called Palmyra, was made wholly for the encouragement of foreign commerce; and whenever the advantages of such commerce may be doubted, let it be answered, that this, and this alone, was sufficient to plant in the heart of the wilderness or desert, for so the site of Tadmor was at the period of its foundation, a city, which by the mere operation of foreign trade, without either a landed or a manufacturing interest—for there was not a hundred acres of cultivable soil within a hundred miles of its walls, or a single commodity manufactured within its gates,—rose to a degree of opulence and splendour to which history affords no parallel: and its splendid ruins, the magnificent representations of which are familiar almost to every one, attest, beyond all power of contradiction, or possibility of doubt, the true source of that wealth by which Solomon, in all his glory, was surrounded—namely, the vast foreign commerce which was maintained throughout the Mediterranean by the fleets that crowded the harbours of Tyre and Sidon—the extensive foreign trade prosecuted from Ezion Geber, by the Red Sea, to Tarshish, Ophir, and the Isles—and the equally rich and distant commerce carried on from India by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to Palmyra, from whence the foreign commodities of all the Eastern world were imported into Judea, and spread again throughout Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, enriching each by its exchange for the surplus natural produce, or the industry, of the respective countries into which it found its way.

If a further instance were needed, Alexandria is at hand to furnish it: a city founded by the Macedonian Conqueror whose name it bears, on as barren and forbidding a soil as it is possible to imagine, with an arid desert on all sides round, and with nothing to recommend it but its port and favourable position for foreign trade. By the operation of this alone—for the commerce with India was soon brought to pass through that channel—it attained, in a comparatively short space of time, a degree of wealth and splendour almost appalling by its magnificence, and surpassingly colossal in its features, even in that most wonderful of all wonderful countries, Egypt. In Alexandria, a city, one of the streets of which alone was five miles in length, and two thousand feet in breadth, were, at one time, upwards of four hundred theatres, and the places of public entertainment! and the fleets that crowded its harbours, and the foreign merchandize (for the trade was almost wholly foreign), that enriched its inhabitants, were almost upon the same scale of magnitude and splendour.

In later times still, the Island, or the barren Rock of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, equally with all the places I have yet named, without a landed interest, a mere speck in the extent of its surface, and destitute alike of soil, verdure, water, or any of the materials of agricultural wealth, became, by its foreign commerce, a place of such extraordinary opulence, that the descriptions given of it by the early voyagers, appear almost fabulous, from their extravagance; yet the corroborating testimony of all the best authorities of the times leave no doubt of its wealth and grandeur being almost unequalled; a circumstance which our own Milton, whose appropriate application of his vast learning is as much a subject of admiration as the sublime genius of his muse, emphatically embodies in his magnificent poem, where, in order to assemble together all the images of greatest grandeur that even his imagination could collect, to shew the overwhelming wealth of the Satanic glory, he says—

'High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz, or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat.'

Another instance, and I have done; but this, too, shall be one in which the effect is purely one of foreign trade, unsupported by any landed interest, and as independent Florence and Livorno, of the mighty republics of Genoa and Venice, but your own collections will supply the chasm, while I advert only to this last link in the great chain of causes and effects, as one formed in our own day,—I mean the little Island of Singapore. While the whole Eastern world, with its population of 400 millions, has remained stationary in some parts, and retrograded in others, under the blighting influence of monopoly and restriction, the little Island of Singapore, scarcely marked on any of our charts fifty years ago, and when first known, known only as a nest of pirates, and a den of wild beasts, was selected as a fitting spot for trying the experiment of Free Trade in the East; and in the short space of three or four years only, population flocked to it from all the surrounding shores; a town sprung up as if by some magician's wand; its harbour was crowded with fleets, bearing the flags of every maritime nation on the globe; its merchants extending their operations in every direction with success; and its population every day augmenting in numbers, wealth, and happiness. But this was so severe a censure on the system of monopoly, which reigned every where else in the East, that it could not be suffered to endure; and, accordingly, the East India Company used their influence to check this prosperity, and succeeded: so true is it, as has been most emphatically said, that 'Monopoly is the fruitful source of error, oppression, and crime.' (Cheers.)

Need I say more of Mr. Sadler's views, than that they are directly opposed to that wise and liberal system which was the cause of all the wealth enjoyed by Tyre, Sidon, Palmyra, Alexandria, Florence, Genoa, Venice, Holland, and every other country that was ever yet distinguished for its opulence, in ancient or in modern times; and that he would carry us back to those monopolies and restrictions, which have reduced Spain and Portugal, from the splendour of their ancient days, when the sun never set on their dominions, to the degraded and miserable condition in which they now lie prostrate at the feet of the nations, a bye-word and a scorn to them all.

Sirs, our greatest error is, not in encouraging the branches of commerce that are already free, but in obstructing the growth of those that are deprived of the pure atmosphere in which alone they can flourish. Commerce is a tree that delights not only in a goodly soil, in copious moisture, and a ripening sun, but needs, above all, full scope and play, to stretch forth its mighty branches, to wave them freely in the wind, and let the circumambient air play round its leaves in fresh and invigorating free-pose beneath its shade; while its branches extend so far and wide, that in their turn they again become the roots of new and ample trunks, resembling, in the language of Milton, the Eastern tree:—

— 'Such, as at this day to Indians known,
In Malabar, or Deccan, spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground

The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade,
High, over-arched, and echoing walks between.'

Yes! the parent tree is already planted, the soil is rich, the waters that British industry is ready to pour around its roots are abundant, the climate is congenial to its growth; the blighting atmosphere of Monopoly alone impedes its progress. Let the legislature of England but permit the free intercourse of her sons with those Eastern daughters, who now await their coming, and both the mother country and the offspring shall rejoice at the union. Let those 'over-arched and echoing walks' reverberate with the spirit-stirring sounds of Freedom, nor ever cease their echo till Monopoly be banished from the earth, and her very name held in remembrance only as a curse, that once afflicted mankind, but which can never again return. (Loud cheers.)

At the close of this speech, which terminated a Lecture on the Evils of the East India Monopoly, occupying nearly five hours and a half in the delivery, and which was listened to throughout by a crowded auditory, with intense attention, interrupted only by occasional bursts of applause, a vote of thanks to Mr. Buckingham was voted, seconded, and carried by acclamation.—*York Courant*.

REPORT OF THE ADDRESS

Delivered at the Grand Masonic Dinner at Glasgow, held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday, the 18th of August, 1829.

THE following is an accurate report of the speech of Mr. Buckingham, at the grand dinner given by the public authorities of Glasgow, in the Town Hall, on Tuesday, the 18th instant, at the close of the splendid Masonic procession and honours on laying the foundation of the New Bridge across the Clyde, (at which not less than 150,000 spectators were present,) R. Dalglish, Esq. Preceptor of Hutcheson's Hospital, in the Chair, Lawrence Hill, Esq. Chamberlain to the Hospital, croupier. Among the company were the Lord Provost and Magistrates, Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, Sir Walter Stirling of Faskine, a gentleman who, sixty years ago, was present at laying the foundation stone of Jamaica Street Bridge, the Sheriff, Principal Macfarlane, Rev. Dr. McLeod, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Mr. Cunningham of Lainshaw, Mr. John Grant of Nuttal, Mr. Wallace of Kelly, Colonel Hastings and the officers of the guard of the 12th Lancers and 42nd Regiment, William and Walter Stirling, Esqs. of London, Captain Gray, 57th Regiment, Mr. Ewing of Dunoon Castle, Robert Finlay, Esq., Mr. Wilson of Thornley, Robert Stevenson, Esq., engineer, James Dennistoun, Esq., &c. &c.

In introducing the health of a distinguished visitor, Mr. Buckingham, the Chairman passed a high eulogium on the value of the recent public labours of this gentleman, in endeavouring to call the attention of the whole country, and of Glasgow in particular, to the importance of a more extended intercourse with our Eastern possessions.

The mere mention of Mr. Buckingham's name drew forth the loudest demonstrations of applause, and his health was drank with all the honours in a most enthusiastic manner.

Mr. Buckingham rose to return thanks, and addressing the Chairman, spoke nearly to the following effect:—Mr. Preceptor, and gentlemen, or if I might be permitted to use any other terms, I would rather say, Friends, fellow-countrymen, and brothers,—use any other terms, I would rather say, Friends, fellow-countrymen, and brothers,—for in each of these relationships have I mingled with you to-day: in the first, with the individuals whom I had the happiness to know, years ago, on the other side of the globe; in the second, as having come among you for a great public object, which requires the union of every branch of the country; and, in the third, as a free and quires the union of every branch of the brethren of the Order, and forming one of accepted Mason, joining hands with the brethren of the Order, and forming one of your splendid procession, clothed in the appropriate emblems of purity which so truly characterise the end and aim of that sacred institution. If I were called upon to say in which of these relationships I felt most closely allied to you, I should find it difficult to answer. Feeling as I do, in all its superior force, the powerful charm of friendship, and national union, and the love of country, is neither less powerful nor less enduring, and therefore the patriotic claim must have its share. While, as a mason, I yield to none

in the enthusiastic ardour with which I honour its precepts, and endeavour to observe its rules; and therefore I feel the fraternal bond between us to be as strong as either the social or the patriotic. Instead, however, of singling out any one of these, as that in which I would prefer to address you, it will be more in harmony with my own views and wishes, that I should be permitted to thank and to salute you in all. It was the object of my visit here to-day, to assist in paying honours, and not to receive them. In this cordial spirit I have been borne along by the flowing tide of conviviality which has already set in so strong among us, maintaining my full share in that open expression of joyous hilarity, which the assembly, the occasion, and the manner of its being conducted, are so well calculated to inspire. Since, however, instead of my being permitted to remain in the crowd, by which I here feel myself so agreeably pressed on all sides around, you have condescended to draw the attention of your guests to the humblest among them all, and to single me out by name, as worthy of your special commendation, I should neither do justice to you, Sir, who have so been pleased to honour me, nor to the generous hearts in which your flattering eulogium found so immediate and powerful an echo, any more than I should do justice to my own feelings, if I could content myself on such an occasion, by merely returning you my formal thanks. Not, however, that I mean to occupy your time or attention long. Much as I feel, I will not weary you with its expression. But I cannot be wholly silent, when so many motives combine to persuade me to another course.

Sirs, I may truly say, that if the duration of human life is to be estimated by the number of ideas that pass through the mind, and of sensations that affect the heart, to-day I have lived a year; for, from the first moment of my entering the sacred edifice in which we commenced the holy labours of the morning, up to the moment in which I am now addressing you, I have been literally oppressed with thoughts and feelings too varied and too large for utterance! If I were to devote an entire year to their detail, and were to write them with the rapidity of the most practised hand, I do not believe that I should complete my task within the period, or that any thing but a pen of lightning could follow such a tempest of thought.

Let me first, then, express my humble acknowledgments of deep and unaffected gratitude, to that learned, pious, and venerable minister of God, who, in the sacred temple in which the multitudinous host were congregated for devotion, poured forth such a strain of sound doctrine, pathetic appeal, and holy ardour, as must have touched the heart of the most apathetic among his hearers,—more especially when he so beautifully illustrated, by copious and appropriate references to the sublime authority before him, the most useful duty that man can perform toward his fellow-men, or the created dust to its Creator—that of spreading out the sea of knowledge, till it washes every habitable coast upon the globe—that of diffusing the light of education, science, and divine truth, until it embrace the people of every country, colour, creed, and clime. (*Loud Cheers.*) As a travelled Mason, more especially, I may say that every portion of the public worship, founded as it is upon the sacred volume, as well as I can never hear the one, nor mingle in the other, without emotions as agreeable as they are powerful, and which nothing but the particular associations from which they spring, could ever give birth to. If for instance, the Hill of Zion, or the Towers of Salem—the beauty of Jerusalem, or the glory of Lebanon, are spoken of—the rocks, the spires, the pinnacles, and the forests, instantly re-appear before me, for I retain the most vivid recollection of them all. If Nineveh or Babylon are alluded to, their desolate remains are as distinctly seen as they were while I trod them in reality; and when the temple of Solomon, the Garden of Eden, and other renowned edifices and sites are named, the Brotherhood will easily understand the additional charm with which these sounds fall upon my ear, since these too I have visited as a part of my long and distant pilgrimage.

In passing from the sacred edifice—where, I may say, the great Architect of the Universe appeared to have given to the very reverend and venerated individual who led our devotional exercises, an especial inspiration, befitting the solemnity of the occasion—and in going from thence into the crowded streets of this increased and increasing city—my sensations, though of a new order, were still powerful and pleasing. For who could see unmoved the twice ten thousand cheerful and happy countenances that

beamed from every casement, lattice, roof, and terrace, in the streets through which we passed—here and there illuminated, if I may so speak, by brighter eyes and lovelier features than those composing the general mass? or who could witness, without something bordering on awe as well as admiration, the ten times ten thousand spectators that hemmed in the procession on either side, in such a manner as to make a solid platform mounted to the breach, had they been disposed to besiege and carry off in triumph the form of human heads, on which, as on the testudo of the ancients, an army might have been mounted to the breach, had they been disposed to besiege and carry off in triumph the fair captives who were to be seen hanging out their banners upon every battlement? Yes! I repeat, that a feeling of awe was inspired in my mind by the sight of so much inert power, which an evil-minded leader could so soon rouse into action, and at the head of which he might spread terror through the land; but that awe was mingled with admiration, when I beheld our little rivulet of moving men, meandering, as it were, like an embroidered thread, through an immense surrounding mass—one single effort of which, had it been set in hostile motion, would have overpowered and annihilated the whole;—and yet, notwithstanding every apparent motive to excitement, when the marching centre was throughout its whole line of length covered with the external emblems of rank, of wealth, and power—the most insignificant of which individuals bore about their persons a profusion of jewels, the most insignificant of which would have formed a treasure for life to any one of the spectators by which they passed—and when the civic baton was the only ensign of authority any where displayed, except in the mere guard of honour which brought up the rear;—notwithstanding, I repeat, all these outward and apparent motives to discontent, such was the influence of freedom, knowledge, and religion, upon the countless multitude—that a smile of joyous participation in all the glories of the pageant as it passed, sat upon every countenance, and not a hair of any man's head appeared to have been hurt, nor any feeling manifested among the old or young, amidst the myriads that thronged around the procession, but that of humility, content, and joy. Truly, indeed, has our sublime poet Milton said

Peace hath its triumphs,
No less renowned than war.

And this was one of them. Never, in the whole course of my experience—which has been more extended than my years would indicate, and into which an age of events has been crowded—never did I before witness such a mass of human energy so passively submissive, without subservience or fear; nor in all the gorgeous and festive pageants in which it has been my lot to take a part, do I remember any thing approaching to the perfect peace and good-will which everywhere prevailed on this occasion. Well, indeed, did the reverend expounder of the sacred text, who addressed us in the morning, choose for his theme this beautiful passage, which, as I before remarked, seems to have been pointed out to him by an especial inspiration—'And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children.' Yes, Sirs, peace is everywhere the handmaid of knowledge and truth, and after witnessing its 'renowned triumph' to-day—where the well educated population of this busy town breathed not a murmur to disturb the serenity of the scene—let no one henceforth dare to say, as some oppressors of the human race still insult both the majesty of heaven and the dignity of men by saying—that the increased knowledge of the poorer classes tends to subvert the due order of society, that ignorance is essential to secure the subjection of the mass, and that education uproots loyalty and obedience. Never was any maxim more false, as well as more degrading: and it must be especially gratifying to the friends of knowledge to see, as we have seen to-day, a union of the sacred text, of sound theory, and extensive practice, all allied in one holy league against this monstrous prostitution of truth and nature. Away then with the scandalous sophism for ever! Let it be sent to brood again over that utter darkness, which alone could have engendered any thing so foul or so offensive. (*Loud cheers.*)

Passing from the procession itself to that which was its end and object, the laying the foundation stone of the additional bridge to be thrown across the Clyde, in order to connect and facilitate the intercourse between the opposite banks of this noble river, I could not but reflect that, if you were engaged in this smaller work, I too, and upon a somewhat more extended scale, aspired to be a Bridge-builder. That you conceive it an object of great importance, to facilitate the intercourse, of which the Bridge we have founded to-day is to be the medium, I have the best proof in the vast pains taken

by you to commence it with all becoming splendour and solemnity. That it is believed the interests of the individuals living on either side of the stream will be improved by this intercourse, is equally certain, from the splendid donations which persons possessing property on its banks have given to aid the work. And that the city of Glasgow conceives it an object, in the accomplishment of which all its inhabitants have more or less an interest, may be inferred from the fact of its Corporation having given the munificent present of three thousand pounds, to assist the undertaking. Sirs, the world will applaud your wisdom, as well as your liberality, in this act; and from it I, too, gather hope; for if it be judicious to expend time, and labour, and money, to connect together the opposite banks of the Clyde, notwithstanding that two bridges already exist within a few hundred yards of each other for that purpose, will it not be an object equally worthy your attention to give me your support, when I say that my humble endeavour is to construct a Bridge which shall unite together the shores of England and those of her extensive and valuable possessions in India? (*Immense cheering.*) I too, Sirs, wish to facilitate that intercourse, which, as our reverend teacher so impressively taught us, is but fulfilling the divine command, and which, as you have shown us, is the best and most effectual means of connecting together divided parts of the same country by the strongest of all links, mutual and reciprocal interests. I ask the aid of all true Masons throughout the world (for we are a large family, and embrace all kindreds, tongues, and kingdoms) to assist me to construct the arches of this Anglo-Indian Bridge. It cannot fail to be a magnificent structure, be the designer who he may. The four hundred millions of Asiatics to whom it would open a new road, would form a splendid procession; and as to the wealth of which this Bridge would soon become the bearer, I may, without exaggeration, say that it is perfectly inexhaustible. And yet the pile might be completed for less money than you have cheerfully consented to pay, to throw your smaller structure across the stream of the Clyde. To erect the Indian Bridge, nothing more is wanted than a removal of the dams and impediments that clog the approach to the opposite shore. Let these be taken away, which your voices may easily command, and nothing more is needed; the Bridge will then build itself, provided we lay the foundation. This is all that I ask the Masons, the merchants, the patriots, the Christians of Britain to do; and after what I have seen and heard to-day, I am most anxious that the people of Glasgow should lay the first stone. (*Loud cheers.*) They have already shown a promptitude which makes it unnecessary for me to say much to urge them on; but this I will say, that if they do not make haste, the people of Liverpool, of Manchester, of Bristol, of Leeds, and of Birmingham, will be before them; and in contending for the honour of priority in this matter, let them be assured that great and lasting will be the renown of those who take a lead in an enterprise, which more than any other that history has yet recorded, will, in its accomplishment, bring countless blessings in its train. (*Continued cheering.*)

But, Sirs, I will not trespass too much on your indulgence; and, yet, I cannot sit down without giving expression to another idea which was suggested to me, as we stood upon the banks of the Clyde, engaged in the solemn rites and mystic ceremonies of the day. The connection of the two shores has been spoken of as a union of interests. Let me call it then a nuptial union. You all remember that the Doge of Venice used annually to wed the Adriatic to his splendid city, 'seated on the waters,' and that one part of the ceremonial was to drop a ring into the blushing wave, by which to bind the bride and bridegroom fast in their embraces. In the nuptials of the opposite banks of the Clyde, the wholesome custom of Europe has been literally followed: the lovers have seen and known each other well, and for a fitting period; and the full measure of their coquetry as well as courtship has been enjoyed before the consummation. But I would wed the Clyde itself, and to a noble family—aye, even to a whole family—for though I am no advocate of polygamy with mortals, yet since it is an Eastern bride that I would provide for your colder stream, with whom the Eastern fashion must be followed of wedding without previous courtship or acquaintance, I see nothing to prevent the nuptials being wholly Eastern, so that the Clyde may become polygamous on the occasion, and wed at once those splendid streams, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Ganges. (*Loud and reiterated cheering.*) Sirs, this would be a splendid marriage indeed; for every single bride would bring her lord a truly regal dower; and as to the progeny that would result, I fear to venture on so

prolific a theme; for in less than a single lunar year these Oriental ladies would bring their Scottish husbands a long line of descendants, enough to fill at least a dozen times over all the wards and class-rooms in Hutcheson's hospital or school. (*Loud laughter, mingled with great cheering.*) Lord Byron has said indeed—

'The cold in clime are cold in blood.'

but only let the Caledonian's veins be once swelled with the amorous embrace of these Eastern brides, and, my life upon the issue, he will never afterward be cold in blood, though his uncovered limbs were shivering on Ben Lomond, or

'Freezing on the hoary Caucasus.'

Before I sit down, allow me to repeat how deeply I feel the compliment you have paid me, in sending forth your commendations of my humble labours to the world. Sirs, I am too frank to flatter. It is a characteristic of my early profession to speak bluntly as well as freely. The sailors of every country that I am acquainted with, are too honest to be parasites, and the sailors of Britain especially. I have been banished for speaking too freely, but I have never yet been suspected of being too courteous in phrase. If this should give additional weight to any praises I may venture to express, let that weight be added now; for I repeat, with all the candour of one who habitually wears his heart upon the outside of his bosom, and whose inmost thoughts dwell constantly upon his tongue, that I have never, in any one day, seen more to admire, nor in any one day had more exalted sources of pleasure, than in this in which I am now addressing you. (*Cheers.*) Let me then not sully this happiness, by 'bestowing my tediousness' upon you any longer, but conclude by proposing a toast, which I believe you will all drink with enthusiasm. 'The marriage of the Clyde with four Eastern wives—the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Ganges; and may no hostile power ever interpose to divorce the union.'

Mr. Buckingham was greeted at the close of this speech with the loudest and most enthusiastic plaudits, and personal congratulations from all quarters of the Hall; and the toast was drank with three times three, amidst the most deafening acclamation.—*Glasgow Chronicle, August 20.*

REPORT OF THE SPEECH

Delivered on the Opening of the Royal Exchange, at Glasgow, on the Health of Mr. Buckingham being proposed, on the 3d of September, 1829.

Yesterday, the new Exchange Rooms in Queen Street were opened to the Public, and there was, as proposed at the laying of the foundation stone, a splendid dinner on the occasion, at which not less than 450 gentlemen were present, James Ewing, Esq. of Dunoon Castle in the Chair, Henry Monteith, Esq., Croupier. Among the company present we observed the Honourable the Lord Provost of Glasgow, the Earl of Glasgow, the Hon. Charles Douglas, Sir Walter Stirling, Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, Counts Rivedin and Brancaccio, Principal MacFarlane, Mr. Brown of Hamilton, Baillie Gray and the other gentlemen of the Magistracy, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Provost Boyd of Paisley, Mr. Hamilton, the Architect of the Buildings, Major Middleton, 42d Regiment, Baillie Leitch of Greenock, the Reverend Doctor Laurie of Hillhouse, &c. &c. &c. The Hall was elegantly fitted up. In the centre, between the two ranges of columns, three tables were placed the whole length of the room, and within the columns, and between them and the wall, on each side, were other tables, all decorated with the choicest flowers from the Botanic Garden. The large window at the west end of the room, was decorated with festoons of flowers, and rare plants furnished from the same quarter. The room was lighted by five chandeliers of exquisite workmanship, by Messrs. Lang and Co. of this City, of six lights each, and, on the whole, the appearance of the room was highly beautiful. In the forenoon, under the direction of Mr. Allison, master of the Exchange, the room was thrown open for the public, who were admitted by the south door, and went round the room to the north door, at which they made their exit. Not fewer than 30,000 persons are calculated to have been admitted, and, under the excellent regulations of Captain Graham, not the slightest confusion occurred.

The Representative of the Dean of Guild and Merchants' House of Glasgow, Mr. DAGLISH, in returning thanks in behalf of that body, proposed the health of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, whose labours in the public cause, he eulogized in the highest terms, and felt that he represented only the universal sentiment of the mercantile interest of

the kingdom, when he expressed his warmest wishes for the continued health and success of this gentleman in the arduous undertaking on which he had entered.

On the mention of Mr. BUCKINGHAM's name, the applause was even louder and more general than on the former occasion of its being proposed at the late Masonic dinner, and was continued for several minutes, reverberating from all sides of the building. When it had subsided, Mr. Buckingham rose, and the silence being such as to admit of every word being heard, no portion of his address was lost. He spoke very nearly as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—There is a measure of applause which begets and quickens utterance of speech: there is a measure also which impedes, and even takes it away. This last you have bestowed on me so abundantly,—my cup may be said to be so filled to overflowing, that it is matter of wonder, even to myself, that I should be able—strong as is my desire—to give any expression whatever, even the most inadequate, to the feelings with which so large a measure of your approbation cannot fail to overpower me.—Believe me, however, when I say, most sincerely and unaffectedly, that faint and feeble as may be the language in which I offer you that assurance, the feelings that dictate it are of the most intense description, and that their very excess creates the embarrassment which a more moderate degree of consciousness or temperament would neither experience for itself nor imagine to exist in others.

When I had last the honour of sharing with you the festive pleasures of your hospitable board, I was unconscious that a renewal of such enjoyment was so near at hand. I had anticipated, indeed, that by this time I should have been in the sister island—thinking, no doubt, of Scotland, for who could have met so cordial a reception among you as I have done, and soon forget the scene of its occurrence?—but no longer being an actual participator of the prolonged gratifications with which my brief sojourn among you has so abundantly been crowned. This accidental interruption of my progress I regarded at the moment as an evil;—but it adds another to the thousand instances that crowd upon my recollection, in which a shadowy evil has become substantial good: for have I not reason to rejoice at any event which leads me to linger among you yet a little longer, and which tends to cement more firmly the friendships already so strongly entertained? I do, indeed, rejoice that the opportunities of our social and festive intercourse have been so multiplied, and that they have not been

“Like angel's visits, few and far between.”

My only regret is, that we cannot more frequently enjoy these assemblings, so honourable to you, in the great public objects which bring ye together; and so agreeable to me, in that happy union of the useful with the agreeable, which gives to every mortal pleasure its highest relish at the moment of its existence, and leaves behind the most refined remembrances, when the actual period of enjoyment itself has passed away. High, however, as this gratification is, there are not wanting those who would mar it if they dare. It was but a very short period before my entering the room, that I received from some envious individual an anonymous communication, endeavouring to cast odium on your splendid undertaking, and to dissuade me, if possible, from being present among you to-day. But that the hon. Chairman had already, with great force and eloquence, alluded to the dissension that was attempted to be introduced by those who considered that their own private interests in the remote quarters of the town would be injured by the erection of this more central, and therefore more convenient spot for assembling, I should not have adverted to this circumstance at all. Having, however, just mentioned it, I may add that, although the writer assumed a signature which he no doubt thought would give his epistle grace and favour in my estimation,—for he calls himself “*A Free Trader*,”—yet he has not approved himself worthy of his title—because to deserve that, he ought to be also “*A Fair Trader*.” He is, however, little better than a smuggler—who tries to introduce his contraband opinions under the cover of a mask, and in the anonymous obscurity of night, without coming, like an upright merchant, and an honourable man, to tell us his objection with open countenance, and in the light of day. And what does he require?—that improvement in one quarter of your city should be arrested because it throws into shade the imperfections in another? If this, indeed, were to be admitted as legitimate reasoning, why, then, the progress of improvement throughout the world would be stayed; and the globe itself should cease to revolve around its own axis: for, according to such a blighting and destroying principle, the splendour of the day ought not to beam forth light, and life, and love, upon the one half of our orb, because the falling shadows of

night would, in consequence of this, envelope the other. Who could entertain for a moment so monstrous a proposition? For myself, I confess that the highest degree of vengeance I should desire to inflict upon the mistaken individual who has ventured to intrude it upon my notice or upon yours, would be to have him descend among us from the splendid roof that resounds with the echoes of our enjoyment, and there to witness for himself how far above all standard of comparison is that divine delight which springs from the labour of aiding improvement and accelerating the wheels of human advancement, to that cold, and dull, and solitary feeling of malignant triumph which some minds are base enough to feel at every interruption to the onward march of knowledge and liberality, and of all the thousand blessings that follow in their train. Had he but have come among us, and seen the happy countenances that bespeak the heart's full joy, he would then have experienced other and loftier aspirations than those which dictated his malicious, but, happily; harmless effusion. (*Cheers.*)

But let me turn to other and more agreeable reflections, of which the materials are as abounding as the viands of your sumptuous board, and have thronged upon me in my absence, like the clusters of the stars that stud the vault of heaven. For though I have been absent, I have not been very distant. The bosom and the banks of your beautiful stream have been my alternate spheres of action and repose; with the mountains of Ben-Lomond, and the waters of the Holy Lake, almost continually in sight. Nor let it surprise you that scenes so full of inspiration as these should have tempted me to indulge the double dream of bard and prophet; or that on looking around me, on the gay and fragrant wreaths of almost every plant and flower that opens its buds and petals to the sun—brought, no doubt, for the occasion, from the magnificent collection of your Botanic Garden, where I so recently passed an evening, in retracing, amid its exotic groves and shrubberies, the tropical regions, in which I had seen the treasures of the teeming earth in all their pristine vigour and proportions—if I perceive, as I do perceive, one favourite flower wanting to make the wreath complete. I say, Sirs, wonder not if in the ardour of my desire that this flower should form a part of every national decoration in all time to come, I give vent to an effusion which sprung spontaneously from my imagination, while hastening up this morning, from the confluence of your river with the sea, towards its source, riding, not on the “wings of the wind,” but on one of those fiery arrows that shoot through air and water by a power to which the Clyde was the first to do homage—steam, and enjoying the triumph of science, not in subduing, but so regulating the elemental laws of Nature, as to make man more worthy the dignity of wearing the impress of his Maker, by wielding even the fiery element of destruction to purposes of benevolence, improvement, and enjoyment. Then it was that this prediction involuntarily escaped me—

Where now the Clyde her downy Thistle weaves
Around the Shannon's graceful Shamrock leaves—
And where the Mersey, Thames, and Severn bring
The blushing Rose, to grace the mystic ring—
Soon shall the Ganges, o'er his ample tide,
Waft the white Lotus, as a willing bride;
Then will THE UNION be indeed divine,
And the wide world do homage at its shrine.

After this brief but refreshing and invigorating absence—to what have I returned? To a banquet that a Persian Satrap might even designate as gorgeous—to an edifice, which in the chasteness of its proportions, and the richness of its ornaments, reminds me of those classic structures, amid the fallen ruins of which I have so often lingered in other lands—to a union of the Art of Greece, in the architectural skill that has reared the splendid pile, with the Science of Europe, here employed in the caudal-abras suspended from its ceiling, to give us light in a new element of aerial flame, and these again adorned with all the rare and curious productions of Nature, from every quarter of the globe, in the waving and palmy foliage of the Torrid Zone, growing up as if at the command of some magician's wand, in the same soil and climate with the cedar and the fir of the arctic and antarctic circle, mingling and blending into one the burning heats of the Arabian Desert, the frozen pinnacles of Nova Zembla, and the fertile fields of Italy and France. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Sirs, the last occasion on which we met together, was one of a most interesting description; and yet, though clothed with all the pomp and splendour that your effort could bestow—it was not in the least degree more interesting or more important

few shillings for a book, yet there is not the same unwillingness to pay an equal sum for the purchase of what he considers more animating and amusing—the oral information obtained at a public Lecture. And, supposing the book to be purchased, its perusal leaves a much fainter impression than hearing the same facts and arguments from the lips of a public speaker. Reading is also a solitary occupation, and the impression left by it dies away for want of sympathetic support, soon after the book is laid aside. But, when an assembly of several hundreds sit together in the same room, and any striking fact or powerful argument is aduced, which make a similar impression on the whole multitude, expressions of astonishment, or indignation, or applause, follow, and, like an electric spark, the feeling is communicated to all. The speaker is animated—the hearers re-echo the enthusiasm—the people become pledged in the sight and hearing of each other, to co-operate in one general cause—and the result is some immediate act, by which they execute, as it were, a common bond of union, to carry their determinations into execution, with spirit and effect.

It is in pursuance of this great object, that the following plan, which admits of progressive developement, has, after much consideration, been decided on as best calculated to attain the end in view: namely, to commence with a popular description of the several countries which lie between England and India, and which are those portions of the Oriental World through which any traveller going to India by land would be most likely to pass. For, important as the facts and arguments bearing on the questions of Indian Government and Indian Trade undoubtedly are, these alone would attract but very limited audiences, and especially if commenced abruptly, and without any preceding discourses. But, by the previous delineations of countries and manners, preliminary to, and in some degree connected with, the main object, and in a way that draws increasing audiences of all classes and of both sexes, the sympathies of the community are so gradually awakened, and so powerfully engaged, that, when the last of the Series comes to be delivered, the number of auditors is often five-fold; and their minds are so well prepared for the views to be maintained, that, in every instance that has yet occurred, the result has been the demonstration of unanimous and enthusiastic approbation of them, and the formation of East India Associations in every part of the country that I have yet visited for the purpose.

The result of my personal Tour has been everywhere indeed most gratifying; and the effect produced altogether unexampled. No Lectures, within the memory of any inhabitant, were ever attended by so many influential persons as those forming my Course in the several towns of England and Scotland; in addition to which, the subject of the India Monopoly became by this means the topic of conversation in every party and every family. There was not a single newspaper in the country that did not contain articles exposing its evils; and the public press and public mind of the kingdom were more strongly excited, more durably occupied, and more effectually enlisted against that Monopoly, than by any other means that could be devised, or than by the expenditure of £100,000 in money for that purpose. I can have no scruple in saying—because it is undeniably true—that all the progress made by the question in the past year, and it is very considerable, has arisen from my first visit to Liverpool in January last,—without which, no meeting, or petition, or deputation, would have gone from thence till the following year, if even then; and neither Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, nor Bristol, would have been roused, without the Lectures delivered in each; for at first all of them were cold, and were only brought into united and vigorous action by the impression originally made by these personal labours; so that to this also may be attributed the pledges of Ministers given in answer to the numerous Deputies that went to London soon after the delivery of these Lectures in the towns named, in consequence of which the progress of the question was hastened at least a year in date. The arrangement of these Lectures has been now so improved and modified

as to admit of several short Courses, of three Lectures only in each; but each complete in itself, and any portion of them capable of adaptation to the extent, population, and wealth of the inhabitants of the several towns in which they may be delivered, and so as to bring them, therefore, within the means of the middle, as well as of the upper classes, to attend.

The intention is to give any one or more of these Short Courses in every town, making the stay in each to depend entirely on the degree of interest evinced on the first visit; and to admit of an attendance on these being brought within the reach of all the educated classes of society, the terms have of the more respectable among the middle ranks of society, the terms have been reduced to HALF-A-CROWN for each separate Admission, (which is only half the original rate of charge), as being better adapted to the means of the great majority of the reading and enquiring portion of society.

This price will be uniformly adhered to in large Assembly Rooms, Music Halls, or other places not admitting separation of ranks; but in the event of the Lectures being delivered in a Theatre, which may sometimes be deemed desirable, the prices of admission to the separate divisions of the House will be exactly those which are established by usage in the town itself.

I can sincerely say that I should rejoice to be in a condition to make this question of expense a matter of no importance to myself. But the world are well aware of the manner in which I have been despoiled of the accumulated fortune which years of labour had been passed in acquiring; and as the East India Company, who might have restored the plunder committed on me by their servants abroad, but who have rejected every appeal made to them for redress, have now a still more powerful motive to wish for my destruction, and to assist in trampling me in the dust, I have only my own energies, and the support of the British Public to rely on, for carrying my object into effect;—and cannot, therefore, if I would, charge myself with all the burthen of its cost.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

London, Jan. 1, 1830.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

To facilitate, to Families especially, the opportunity of judging for themselves how far the subject of these Lectures is likely to afford them any gratification,—an Introductory Address will be delivered, preparatory to the commencement of the particular Course determined on, to which each purchaser of a Single Ticket (2s. 6d.) will be permitted to introduce a Lady or Young Person free.—This privilege will apply to the Introductory Lecture only.

HEADS OF THE ADDRESS.

1. Original Inducements to undertake these extensive Travels in the East.
2. Route pursued from England, Costume, and mode of travelling adopted.
3. General Characteristics of the several Countries traversed in these journeys.
4. Impressions created by their splendid Monumental Remains.
5. Contrast of their Present Degradation with their Ancient Glory.
6. Hopes and Resolutions inspired by every successive Country visited.
7. Arrival in India, and confirmation of these Impressions there.
8. Period accomplished for putting these Resolutions into effect.
9. Reasons for believing that Public Good will result from this Undertaking.
10. Precedents for this method of delivering Personal Narrative.
11. Herodotus—Thucydides—Marco Polo—Columbus—Raleigh—Bruce.
12. Recent Institution of Laborde in France for Travelling Education.
13. The Course of Science, Art, and Learning sprung from the East.
14. Opinion of Dr. Johnson as to the Interest of that portion of the Globe.
15. Moral Duty of the Western World to repay the Ancient Debt.
16. Peculiar Fitness of the present moment for such an undertaking.

DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT.

Lecture I.—Geography.

1. Singular Position of Egypt, compared with the rest of Africa.
2. Geographical Boundaries of the Valley—Extent and Ancient Population.
3. The River Nile—its Scriptural and Classical celebrity, and modern interest.
4. Abyssinian and African Sources—the Blue and the White Streams.
5. The Cataracts—the Delta—the Mouths and Deposits of the River.
6. The Inundation of the Nile—its causes, progress, and effects.
7. The Lakes Mæris, Menzaleh, and Mareotis of Antiquity.
8. Ancient Canal, connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.
9. Circumnavigation of Africa in the time of the early Pharaohs.
10. Passage open for the splendid Gallies of the Queen Cleopatra.

Lecture II.—Climate and Productions.

1. General Temperature of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter.
2. Prevalence of the Etesian Winds—their good and evil effects.
3. Total Absence of Rain, with Scriptural, Classical, and Monumental Proofs.
4. Wheat—Rice—Sugar—Indigo—Flax—Cotton—The Lotus, and the Rose.
5. The Buffalo—Hippopotamus—Jackall—Hyæna, and Domestic Ass.
6. The Flamingo—Ibis—Crane—Pigeon—Sturgeon, and Crocodile.
7. Practice of the Tentyrites, and recent decision of the Baron Cuvier.

Lecture III.—Ancient Cities of Lower Egypt.

1. Alexandria—Extent—Splendour—Streets—Edifices, and Remains.
2. Canopus—its wonder-working Baths, and consequent popularity.
3. Saïs—its superb Temple of Minerva, and Monolith of Amasis.
4. Tanis—the Scriptural Zoan—and Works of the Children of Israel.
5. Bubastis—its splendid Festivals—Mysteries, and Processions.
6. Heliopolis—the Land of Goshen—Pythagoras, and the Metempsychosis.
7. Memphis—the Royal Pyramids—their structure and destination.
8. The Colossal Sphynx—Catacombs, and Embalmed Cities of the Dead.

Lecture IV.—Splendid Monuments of Upper Egypt.

1. The Lake Mæris—its origin and object—First Holy Alliance of Kings.
2. The Labyrinth—its Pyramids—Chambers—Statues, and Gods.
3. Antinoë and Hermopolis—Contrast of Greek and Egyptian styles.
4. Abydos, the Buried City—Tentyra—its Zodiac and Remains.
5. Koum Ombos—Crocodilopolis—Silsilis, and the Chained River.
6. Esneh—Caverns of Eliethias—and Temple of Apollinopolis Magna.
7. Frontier of Philœ—Coptos—Berenice—and the Oases of Jupiter Ammon.
8. The Hundred-gated Thebes—its Temples—Tombs, and Memnon's vocal Statue.

Lecture V.—Chief Towns and Population.

1. Alexandria—Rosetta—Damietta—Bohac—and Grand Cairo.
2. Mosques—Baths—Bazaars—Squares—Castle—Palace—Mameluke Tombs.
3. Nilometer, or Mekias—its use and abuse for Stock Exchange frauds.
4. Turks—Georgians—Circassians—Abyssinians, and characteristics of each.
5. Greeks—Catholics—Armenians—Nestorians—and Jews.
6. Copts—and their physiological traces of ancient Egyptian descent.

Lecture VI.—Religion, Manners, Government, and Trade.

1. Mohammedan Worship—Priests—Fasts—Festivals—Hospitals—and Alms.
2. Dress—Horsemanship—Recreations—Exercises—and Rural Retreats.
3. Female Seclusion—Almehs—Betrothals—Marriages—Visits to the Bath.
4. Music—Singing—Poetry—Passions—and Modern Arabian Tales.
5. Khalifs—Soldans—Mamelukes—and Military Beys.
6. History and Character of the present Viceroy, Mohammed Ali Pasha.
7. Recent Improvements in the Political State of Egypt—their causes and effects.

DESCRIPTION OF PALESTINE.

Lecture I.—Geography.

1. Extent and Boundaries of Syria and Palestine, West of the Jordan.
2. Sea Coast—Rivers' bounds—and Northern and Southern borders.
3. Lebanon—Hermon—Sion—Olives—Tabor—Carmel—Ebal and Gerizzim.
4. The River Jordan, its sources, course, termination, and character.
5. Arnon—Hieromax—Kishon—Belus—Lycus—Adonis—Eleutherus—Orontes.
6. Plains and vallies of Sharon, Samaria, Esdraelon, Galilee, and Judea.
7. The Sea of Tiberias, or Genessareth—The Lake Asphaltes, or the Sea of Death.

Lecture II.—Provinces, Climate, and Productions.

1. Palestine Proper—Phœnicia—Canaan—Hebron—Edom—and Judea.
2. Syria, its Northern division, and character of its Sea Coast and Interior.
3. Heshbon—Bashan—and Gilead—and the fertile Countries beyond Jordan.
4. The Decapolis—its Ten Cities—and unparalleled splendour as a Roman Colony.
5. The Hauran—the Land of Uz—the country of Job's residence and trials.
6. Varieties of Climate, Heat, Snow, and Dews—Minerals—Iron—Copper—Coal.
7. Vegetable Productions—Grain—Tobacco—Trees—Fruits—and Flowers.
8. The Leopard—the Fox—the Lion—the Dove—the Cuckoo—and Nightingale.

Lecture III.—Ancient Cities on this side Jordan.

1. Gaza—Askalon—Ashdod—Joppa—Cesarea—Accho—Ptolemais.
2. Tyre—Sidon—Sarepta—Berytus—Byblus—Geba—Botrus—and Tripolis.
3. Ximyra—Orthosia—Aradus—Gabal—Laodicea—Seleucia—Dana—Antioch.
4. Capernaum—Tiberias—Cesarea Philippi—Scythopolis—and Jericho.
5. Cana—Nain—Deborah—Endor—Samaria—Sichem—and Neapolis.
6. Arimathea—Antipatris—Bethany—Bethpage—and Bethsaida.
7. Nazareth and its ancient precipice—Bethlehem and its verdant meadows.
8. Jerusalem—the Temple of Solomon—Calvary, and the Tomb of Christ.

Lecture IV.—Ancient Cities beyond Jordan.

1. Sodom and Gomorrah—the means and traces of their destruction.
2. Machærus—Medaba—Amathus—Heshbon—Petra—and Karak Moab.
3. Ammon—Assalt—Adjeloon—their Fortresses and Scriptural Vallies.
4. Geraza—Gadara—Gamala—Dion—Pella—and Cities of the Decapolis.
5. Bozra—Salghud—their Strong Castles, and Ruined Town beyond them.
6. Soeda—Gunnawat—Nedjaraun—Shuhubah—and Ezra in the Hauran.
7. Baalbeck, or Heliopolis—its Phœnician, Greek, and Saracenic uses.
8. Emessa—Hamath—Apamea—and the Cities of the Plain.
9. Tadmor or Palmyra, its splendid Ruins, and the valuable truth they convey.

Lecture V.—Chief Towns of Modern Syria, and Palestine.

1. Jaffa—Acre—Soor—Saida—Bairoot—Jebal—Batrie—Tarabolous.
2. Tartooze—Jebel—Ladik—Scanderoon or Alexandretta.
3. Ramlah—Tabareeah—Nassara—Beit Lahm—Sanhoor—and Nablous.
4. Antakea—its splendid scenery, and general Turkish character.
5. Aleppo—its European Factories, and effects of their Establishment.
6. Jerusalem—its walls and interior buildings, in their modern condition.
7. Damascus—and the unrivalled beauties of its Earthly Paradise.

Lecture VI.—Population, Religion, and Manners.

1. Turks—Arabs—Druses—Christians—Jews—and Neseereahs.
2. Dress—Manners—relative ranks of the several classes in Society.
3. Condition of Women, and degree of freedom enjoyed by them in the East.
4. Courtships—Marriages—Polygamy—Amusements—the Baths—Cemeteries.
5. Singular Costume of Druse Females, and Scriptural Illustrations.
6. Consular Dignity of Levantine European Representatives at Court.
7. Rigid observance of the point of honor in the Levantine Ladies at Aleppo.

ARABIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Peninsular form and Maritime boundaries of its Coasts.
2. Ancient Subdivisions—Arabia Deserta—Arabia Petraea, and Arabia Felix.
3. Modern Subdivisions—The Nedjed—The Hedjaz, and the Yemen.
4. Characteristic Peculiarities of each of these several Provinces.
5. The Red Sea—its Name and Character—Coral Reefs—Tides and Navigation.
6. Excessive Heat—Poisonous Winds, and moving Sands of the Desert.
7. The Palm Tree and its Dates—Fruits—Gums, and Mountain Coffee.
8. The Camel—The Dromedary—The Horse—Quails, and Locusts.

Lecture II.—Antiquities and Modern Towns.

1. Ezion Geber—The Port from which Solomon traded to Tarshish and Ophir.
2. The Kaaba of Mecca—The Temple of the Sabæans, or worshippers of the Stars.
3. Remains of an Egyptian Colony in the rocky defiles of the Stony Arabia.
4. Inscriptions on written Mountains, in the Desert of Wandering.
5. Horeb and Sinai, and the lost Hebrew character of the ancient Scriptures.
6. Leuke Komé—Myos Hormos—Arsinoë, and Berenice.
7. Sea Ports of Suez—Tor—Yambo—Jedda—Hodeida—Loheia—Mocha.
8. Aden—Muscat—Ras-el-Khyma—Tyros—Aradus—Pearl Island of Bahrein.
9. Derrya—Sana—and the Holy Cities of Medina and Mecca—Central Mart.

Lecture III.—Religion, Manners, &c.

1. Soones—Sheehas—Wahabees—Their character and present condition.
2. Unconquerable Independence of the Desert Tribes in their tented encampments.
3. Mode of travelling in squadrons of Horse and Camel Caravans.
4. Occupation of the several Members of a Desert Family in ordinary life.
5. Simplicity of all their habits, usages, and institutions.
6. Erroneous impressions as to their lust of plunder and revenge.
7. Exercise of Hospitality towards strangers, and protection even of enemies.
8. Trait of noble generosity in the conduct of two rival Arab Chiefs.

MESOPOTAMIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Correspondence of the Greek, Arabic, and Indian Names of the Country.
2. Boundaries of the Land—Euphrates—Tigris—Taurus, and Korneh.
3. Characteristic differences of the two great Rivers named.
4. Seat of the Garden of Eden, or Paradise of our First Parents, Adam and Eve.
5. Plains of Shinar, Calneh, and Accad—and Mountains of Sinjar.
6. Climate—Minerals—Vegetables—The Lion, and the Wild Ass of the Desert.

Lecture II.—Ancient Cities and Monuments.

1. Birtha, and its ancient Fortress, commanding the Passage of the Euphrates.
2. Thapsacus, the Central Pass, crossed by Alexander of Macedon.
3. Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch.
4. Haran, the scene of Jacob's Dream and Servitude for love of Rachel.
5. Amida—Nisibeen—Dara—Arbela—Ctesiphon, and Seleucia.
6. Ruins of Nineveh—Journey of the Prophet Jonah—and Description of the City.
7. Babylon—Account of its Grandeur, from sacred and profane authorities.
8. Remains now existing of the Palace and Hanging Gardens of Semiramis.
9. Existing Ruins of the Tower of Babel, and ascent to its lofty summit.

Lecture III.—Chief Towns, Population, and Manners.

1. Beer—its terraced slopes, and halts of Caravans.
2. Orfah—its luxuriant Gardens—Mosque of the Patriarch, Abraham the Beloved.
3. Diarbekr, or the Black City, and surrounding country.
4. Mardin, a City on the Mountains—Gezireh on the River Tigris.
5. Moosul—and Bagdad—the great capital of the Arabian Khalifs.
6. Turks—Turcomans—Koords—Yezeedis, or Worshipers of Satan.
7. General Political Condition of the Remoter Provinces of the Turkish Empire.

PERSIA.

Lecture I.—Geography, Climate, and Productions.

1. Form and elevation—varied surface, and general character of the country.
2. Mount Zagros, Looristan, and the Pass of Alexander the Great.
3. Alwend and Ararat, the Mountain on which the Ark of Noah rested.
4. Irak—Khorassan—Soosiana—Farsistan, and Mazanderaun.
5. General Climate, and extreme variations of the thermometer in the same day.
6. Illustrations of ancient History continually offered by improved modern knowledge.
7. Copper—Lead—The Turquoise or Firouzi of the East.
8. The Persian or Turcoman Horse—Caravans of Mules, and their destination.
9. Gardens—Fruits—Melons—Grapes—Distilled Spirits, and Wine of Shiraz.

Lecture II.—Antiquities and Principal Cities.

1. Tauck-e-Bostan, or Arch of the Garden, an Oriental Virginia Water.
2. Ecbatana, the Capital of the old Median Empire—Funeral of Hephæstion.
3. Shushan, the Palace—the Scene of the History of Esther and Mordecai.
4. Persepolis, and the destruction of its Temple by Thais and Alexander the Great.
5. Pasargarda—The Tomb of Cyrus—Shapoor, and Sassanian Inscriptions.
6. Tabreez—Teheraun—Kermanshah—Hamadan—Herat—Yezd, and Kerman.
7. Bushire—Kauzeroon—Yezdikhaust—Julfa—and the splendid City of Ispahan.

Lecture III.—Population, Manners, Government, and Trade.

1. Persians—Sheeahs—Armenians—Jews of the Lost Tribes, and Fire Worshipers.
2. Dress—Personal appearance—Beards—Caps—attitudes and general carriage.
3. Rural Parties—Smoking—Drinking Bouts, and Festive Pleasures.
4. Language—Literature—Poetry—Music—Amatory Passions.
5. General Character of the Persians contrasted with other Orientals.
6. Political Position of Persia between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions.
7. Expected Division of the Empire, and facilities for invading India.
8. Ancient Wealth of Persia—Its Satrapies, and Trade by Balsora and Ormuz.

BRITISH INDIA.

Lecture I.—Geography and Productions.

1. Vastness of its Extent and Population—and gigantic scale of its Geography.
2. The Himalaya Mountains—The Ghauts—and the Nilgherries.
3. The Indus—Jumna—Nerbuddah—Kistna—Godavery—Ganges—Burumpooter.
4. The Coasts of Orissa—Coromandel—Guzerat—and Malabar.
5. Provinces—Punjab—Hindoostan—Bengal—Rajesthana—and the Deccan.
6. Climate—Minerals and Gems, the Ancient Productions of the Country.
7. Wheat—Rice—Sugar—Cotton—Indigo—Tobacco—Coffee—Opium—Fruits.
8. Lion—Tiger—Leopard—Dog—Jackall—Rhinceros—Boar—and Elephant.
9. Serpents—Storks—Forests—Celebrated Banian Tree of the Nerbuddah.

Lecture II.—Ancient and Modern Places.

1. Antiquities—Salsette—Elephanta—Ellora—Oojein—Taje Muhal—Dacca.
2. Cities—Delhi—Agra—Lucknow—Benares—Dacca—Poonah—Surat—Hyderabad.
3. Principal Foreign Settlements—Goa—Pondicherry—and Serampore.
4. Chief English Towns or Presidencies—Bombay—Madras—and Calcutta.
5. Varied Population—Proportions and general Character of each Class.

Lecture III.—Present General Condition.

1. Religions—Hindoos—Mohamedans—Christians—Parsees—and Pariahs.
2. Manners—Dress—Food—Languages—Marriages—Nautches—Music.
3. Character—Superstition—Duplicitv—Docility—Timidity—Fidelity.
4. Government—Native Rulers—English Stewards—Financial System.
5. Character, Manners, and Habits of the leading English Families in India.

EVILS OF THE EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.

Lecture I.—The India Company.

1. Events that first led to the formation of an English East India Company.
2. Avowed object of the Legislature in granting the original Charter.
3. Means by which the Territorial acquisitions in India have been obtained.
4. Repeated renewals of their Charter at fixed periods, and on what grounds.
5. Limitation of Dividends by Parliament—Its object and effect.
6. Constitution of the East India Company theoretically imperfect.
7. Radical System—Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, & Election by ballot.
8. Announcements of the Directors, and manner of their election.
9. Total absence of all interest in the general welfare of the Country.
10. Patronage the only end, aim, and reward of all their labours.
11. Refined methods of bribery, without violating the letter of the law.
12. Practical consequences of mismanagement—Enormous increase of Debt.
13. Motive for still increasing rather than diminishing the burthen.
14. Absence of all improvement in the condition of the Indian Estate.
15. Wretchedness of the population from excessive taxation.
16. Superstitions of the Natives encouraged, and made a source of gain.

Lecture II.—Commerce with India.

1. Early Attempt of the East India Company to obtain Settlements in China.
2. Trade in Tea, originally insignificant, but now greatly augmented.
3. Profits on this, the sole present source of gain to the India Company.
4. Consequent jealousy against any portion of it being enjoyed by others.
5. Effect of this Monopoly, to inflict a heavy tax on one of the necessities of life.
6. Profits not so great to the Company as to the Free Trader, from Extravagance.
7. Present Stagnation of Trade in England, arising from over-production.
8. Vast population of China, and active and consuming character of the people.
9. Reduction in the price of Tea would lead to increased consumption here.
10. Manufactured goods of every kind and description would be received in payment.
11. Trade now carried on by the Americans from China to the Eastern Archipelago.
12. Merchants, Manufacturers, Shipowners, and all other classes injured by this.
13. Reasons assigned by the India Company in favour of their China Monopoly.
14. Assumed necessity of existence, and claim of large gains to repair losses.
15. Imputed inferiority of character in English seamen to that of Foreigners.
16. Apprehension for the health of his Majesty's subjects, and for the Revenue.
18. Consequences of the Monopoly to degrade the English flag and character.

Lecture III.—Colonization of India.

1. Contrast between the state of America, New South Wales, and India.
2. Reasons why English settlers have produced such opposite effects.
3. Enumeration of the difficulties under which the English in India labour.
4. The arguments used by the East India Company against Colonization.
5. Proofs of benefit from experiments tried, in Tirhoot, Saugor, and Malabar.
6. Pretences on which they defer any interference with Native Superstitions.
7. Life, Character, and Writings of the Bramin, Ram Mohun Roy.
8. Examples of successful interference in abolishing Human Sacrifices in India.
9. Prevalence of a desire among the Natives to possess British Manufactures.
10. Continually increasing Imitation of English Habits by wealthy Hindoos.
11. Limitation to the amount of Exports by the rude condition of articles of Import.
12. Predictions of Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and similar Prophets.
13. Condition of England when forming a Roman Colony, an example for India.
14. Proclamation for the seizure of Englishmen found trading in the interior.
15. Miserable pretence of advances towards a more liberal system.
16. Duty of all classes to unite in opposing the renewal of the Charter.

PROPOSED NEW SYSTEM FOR INDIA.

Lecture I.—Future Government of the Country.

1. Deep Interest of the Public at large in the decision of this Question.
2. Declaration of the Sovereignty of India in the King of Great Britain.
3. Appointment of a Viceroy, with full powers and responsibility.
4. Assistance of a Representative Council, of English and Natives.
5. Declaration of Proprietary Right in the Soil to belong to Individuals only.
6. Sources of future Revenue, in taxes on property, income, or rank.
7. Inconvenience and Injustice of indirect taxes on commodities.
8. Organization of the Indian Army—order of service and promotion.
9. Efficiency of Regiments, and provision for a Staff Corps.
10. Constitution of the Civil Service, to include Revenue and Diplomatic officers.
11. Establishment of a separate Judicial branch of public servants.
12. Defects of the present system of administering Justice.
13. Formation of a perfect Code, suited to all the religions of the world.
14. Introduction of the English Language as the universal public or official tongue.
15. Establishment of Public Schools for the education of all our Indian subjects.
16. Economy and efficiency of Instruction, as a security for loyalty and peace.

Lecture II.—Qualifications of Public Functionaries.

1. The Question of India Patronage as at present exercised, considered.
2. Consequences of transferring it to the Minister or the Crown.
3. Lord Grenville's proposed mode of selecting Candidates for office.
4. Beneficial effect of such a stimulus on England as well as on India.
5. Public Examination of Candidates reported as qualified.
6. Subsequent Education to be pursued by each, from sixteen to twenty.
7. Final Examination at twenty, previous to receiving appointment.
8. Employment of two years in finishing Education, by Travel in Britain.
9. Completion of probation, by a journey of two years on the Continent of Europe.
10. Journey to India, through Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia, by land.
11. Superior advantages of this mode of preparation over that now in use.
12. Objections as to time and expense of process, answered.
13. Age of arrival and entry on public duties in India, twenty-five.
14. Standard of selection to first appointments,—fitness and merit.
15. Advantages to be given to the husbands of English wives, and why?
16. Subsequent promotion, by gradation in the line of service.
17. No removal from the Service but by verdict of a Jury.
18. Rewards for meritorious conduct, by landed estates in India.

Lecture III.—Beneficial Effects of the New System.

1. Simplification of the Political Government,—consequent intelligibility of its acts.
2. Exercise of Public Opinion on the conduct of public men.
3. Speedy Administration of Justice, in a cheap and an intelligible form.
4. Extended cultivation of immense tracts of land, now lying waste.
5. Improvement of Cotton, Sugar, Silk, and every other article of Indian produce.
6. Discovery of new articles of Commerce, mineral and vegetable.
7. Steam communication on the Rivers, especially in towing.
8. Building of Inns, Dwellings, Bridges, Canals, and other public works.
9. Daily spread of European taste, by the influence of example.
10. Organization of Militias and Magistracies for internal police.
11. Establishment of Scientific Societies, Public Journals, and Schools of Art.
12. Increased wealth of the country, by increase of English goods.
13. Augmented consumption of every description of English goods.
14. Opening of China, Japan, and the Eastern Archipelago to civilization.
15. Employment for our increasing surplus educated classes of society.
16. Duties of Mother Countries to their Colonial Offspring.

STATEMENT

OF

*The Reasons for the Removal of all Restrictions on the Trade with India,
on the Residence of British Subjects in that Country,*

AND FOR THROWING OPEN THE TRADE WITH CHINA.

*Issued by the Liverpool Committee, as Central Committee for the Principal Cities and Towns of
the Kingdom.*

THE circumstances which characterise the present state of the trade of this Kingdom,—low rates of wages and profit, and difficulty of obtaining beneficial employment for our people and our capital, have turned the attention of all men with intense anxiety to the means of relief.

Opinions may differ as to the causes of our suffering, but the nature of the disease points out the character of the remedy.—We are embarrassed by shackles, which fetter the industry of our population, and these shackles must be removed, before we can hope for relief.

The question is not now to be discussed, whether we have encouraged manufactures unduly, or have raised up, by artificial means, a body of men amounting to perhaps one-third of the whole population of Great Britain, whose existence may be said to depend upon foreign trade; the fact is certain, that the prosperity of the country, the peace of society, the comfort and happiness of individuals, of every rank and degree, are dependant on a free interchange of our surplus products with the rest of the world; from this condition we cannot recede; we have no alternative; we must proceed as we have begun.

Never, in fact, to so urgent a degree as at the present moment, were new or extended markets more indispensable to our manufacturing and commercial industry; and, as if bounteously designed by Providence, the vast population, the fertile soil, and varied products of India and China, within our control, or accessible to our influence, hold out the prospect of relief; but the deadening influence of the East India Company's monopoly debars us from the proffered bounty, while it refuses to the less cultivated millions of India those advantages which a closer union with a people more advanced in the arts would afford them by example, in extending the cultivation of the soil, and improving its products.

Whatever might have been the expediency of granting, in the first instance, and of continuing subsequently to the East India Company, the exclusive privileges they have so long possessed, the time is surely now arrived when the mutual interests of India and Britain require, nay demand, that they should be withdrawn; and our interesting and extensive dependency be made accessible to the capital, the skill and enterprise, the intelligence and the philanthropy, of the British nation.

If it be undeniable, that a very partial removal of the restrictions, which, previous to 1814, confined the commerce of this country with India to the insignificant traffic carried on by the East India Company, has been followed by a great increase in the interchange of commodities, not only of such as were formerly consumed by both countries, but also of others never imagined by the possessors of the monopoly, it would be an insult to the understanding of our readers to dwell at length on the obvious advantages of their entire abrogation.

In 1794 the East India Company, then conducting the whole trade of the United Kingdom and its colonies with India and China, exported goods to the official * value of 2,924,829*l.*—

* Official value.—“A fixed value assigned as far back as 1694, to each article exported or imported, and may, therefore, be considered as denoting quantity rather than value, and may or may not have a relation to the current value of the present time.”

Twenty years later, in 1814, before the trade was open to the public, the exports had fallen off to 1,699,125*l.* In the six years ending 1796, the East India Company's average annual exportations were of the official value of 2,520,871*l.* In the six years ending 1814, they were only 1,741,137*l.*, or above 30 per cent. less than in the former period. In the five years of Free Trade, ending 1818, the declared * value of the exports to India and China averaged 2,711,987*l.* In the next five years it was 3,272,988*l.*; and in the following five years 4,034,956*l.* The exports of the year 1828, or the last of the Free Trade, exceeded those of 1814, or the first, by no less than 3,521,119*l.*; the declared value of the first having been no more than 1,691,234*l.*, while that of the last was 5,212,353*l.*

In 1814, the joint imports from India and China amounted, in declared value, to 6,298,386*l.* On the average of the five years ending 1827 they amounted to 10,543,417*l.*, of which 5,866,343*l.* was from India alone, and 4,677,074*l.* from China; an increase, on the whole, of about 67 per cent.; and, as the prices of raw produce fell considerably in the interval, it must have far exceeded this ratio. As the imports from China, in the hands of the East India Company exclusively, have varied little, their average amount in the five years ending 1827, deducted from the joint imports from India and China in 1814, will leave what may be taken, without much room for error, as the amount of the imports from India alone in that year, and will show their increase during the thirteen years of free trade to have been nearly in a fourfold proportion. The import trade from China is nearly confined to the article of tea, and this branch of the Company's trade would assuredly have exhibited the same symptoms of languor and decline, had it not been supported by the monopoly of the British market, or, in other words, by an imposition, on the part of the East India Company, of a great and oppressive tax upon the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.

In the nineteen years of the last charter, or from 1794 to 1813, the quantity of tonnage, allotted by the East India Company for the use of the private trade, amounted, according to the Company's own showing, to no more than 54,000 tons, of which 21,806 tons only were occupied by private merchants, making their average yearly export and import tonnage for the whole period 1148 tons. The export tonnage of the Company in 1814 was 34,819 tons; and, allowing that the import tonnage equalled it in amount, the total tonnage employed in the India and China trade, before it was opened to the public, would not exceed 70,786 tons. On the average of the six years ending 1829, the total annual amount of tonnage employed in the India trade was 116,475, or had advanced full 64 per cent. In the year 1813 the total export tonnage of the East India Company to India and China, including the amount allotted to the private merchant, was but 28,000 tons; in 1828 it was 41,388 tons, or had advanced little more than 45 per cent. In the first year of the free trade the amount of tonnage, belonging to the private merchant which cleared outwards, was but 5022 tons; in 1828 it amounted to 67,767 tons, or had sustained an increase of 1350 per cent.

The increase of seamen, in consequence of the opening of the trade, has also been remarkable. In 1813, the total number of British seamen employed by the East India Company in their export trade during a period of hostilities, and in ships armed as men of war, was but 2975. In the very first year of the open commerce, the total number of seamen rose to 4342, and fourteen years afterwards, or 1828, to 8574. They were, in short, nearly trebled in number. Of this augmentation, the seamen employed by the East India Company amounted only to 3929, but those of the Free Traders to 4645; and this, too, although to every 100 tons the shipping of the East India Company required 9½ men for their navigation, and that of the Free Trader but 7. The numerous seamen employed by the Company in their trade, had often been boasted of, as one of the greatest advantages which their monopoly conferred on the nation. In the very first year of the Free Trade, we find a sufficient refutation of so idle and unfounded a pretence; and a confutation as ample and complete as could be desired, when that Free Trade had been but 14 years in operation. If such results have followed from a partial opening of the trade with India, what relief may not the shipping interest reasonably expect to derive, not only from the removal of all injurious restraints upon this particular branch of the Eastern trade, but from the opening of the great, and now inaccessible market of China.

In proof that the British territories in India have benefitted from the Free Trade, a few particulars may be adduced. In the year 1814, the total value of the imports and exports of British India, by sea, amounted to 13,549,146*l.*, and this, of course, included some exports

* Declared value.—The value at which goods are entered at the Custom-house, by the exporter or importer, and which is, of course, an approximation to their real value.

and imports by the Free Trader. On the average of the five years ending 1826-27, they amounted to 16,117,912*l.*, showing an increase of 2,568,766*l.* This statement, however, by no means exhibits a just view of the benefit conferred upon India or England by the Free Trade. The valuation given in the India account throughout, is not official but real value. In every article of import into India there has been a vast reduction in the cost to the consumer, and, in British manufactures especially, the prices of 1827 are not one half, often not one-third of those of 1814. In articles of export there has been also a reduction in price, and, through the wholesome competition and economy of the Free Trade, the British consumer on his side now receives articles of Indian produce, not subject to the monopoly, often at not one-third of the price under the exclusive system.

The intercourse between one part of India and another exhibits similar evidence of prosperity. In the year 1814-15 the value of the export and import trade of British India with the Eastern Islands—while we were in possession of the Dutch Indian empire, when the produce of these islands was sent, for the most part, to India for re-exportation, a direct intercourse between these countries and Europe being hardly established—amounted to no more than 1,527,729*l.* In 1826-27, after the Dutch had resumed the possession of their colonies, and a total revolution in all these circumstances had been long effected, the trade still amounted to 1,686,701*l.* Even the British intercourse with China, in so far as it is free, has been benefitted by the indirect influence of the Free Trade. In 1814-15 the total value of the export and import trade between British India and China was but 2,573,940*l.*; in 1826-27 it had risen to 3,764,404*l.* This rise may be contrasted with the stationary, or nearly stationary, condition of the trade of the East India Company with China, the whole amount of which, Indian and European, in 1814-15, was 3,398,944*l.*, and in 1827-28 but 3,588,911*l.*, although in the last case, and not in the first, the cargoes to the Cape, St. Helena, and the Canadas are included.

But a few detailed particulars of the Indian commerce may be of value, as a matter of illustration. In 1814, the East India Company exported cotton goods of all descriptions, to the official value of 16,252*l.*; in the same year the private traders exported to the value of 74,673*l.* In 1828, the declared value of cotton manufactures exported to India was 2,059,373*l.* of which the Company's proportion was 20,268*l.* In 1814 the number of yards of cotton cloth exported was 812,208, and of cotton twist 8 lb. In 1828 the number of yards of cotton cloth was 44,284,776*l.*, and of twist 4,648,225 lb. Of the first, the proportion of the Company was 306,000, and the second 90,040 lb. The result may be shortly summed up. Through the activity and enterprise of the Free Trade, the quantity of cotton piece goods had been increased in fourteen years, in a proportion of more than fifty-fold, and cotton twist, from a trifle in quantity and value not worth naming, had reached the large amount of between four and five millions of pounds weight, and the value of near 400,000*l.* per annum.

In 1814, the total value of woollens exported to India, including China, was 1,084,435*l.*, of which the East India Company exported to the value of 1,064,222*l.*, and the Free Trader only to that of 20,213*l.* In 1828, the total exports amounted to 898,757*l.*, or had fallen off by 17 per cent. The cause of the phenomenon is of easy explanation. The East India Company maintains a rigid monopoly of the woollen trade in China, the principal market for woollens, and which, even at the reduced consumption now quoted, took off 618,412*l.* worth of the whole quantity exported. The total exports of the article by the East India Company in 1828, amounted, for India and China together, to no more than 622,775*l.*, or had fallen off in fourteen years by more than 41 per cent. The exports of the Free Traders to India alone amounted in the same year to the value of 276,821*l.*, or had sustained a thirteen-fold increase. In respect to China, however, it must not escape our attention, that that market, which the East India Company appears incompetent to supply with British woollens, and which the British trader is expressly precluded from supplying, is in course of being amply supplied through the subjects of the United States of America, from our own ports. They engaged in this trade, for the first time, in 1818, when the quantity exported was a trifle hardly worth naming. During the three years ending 1826-27, they imported British woollens into Canton, according to the statement laid by the East India Company itself before Parliament during last session, to the value of 1,678,442 dollars, or at the annual rate of 559,480 dollars. A remarkable fact connected with this commerce is, that while in every other article of their trade with China there has, for some years, and for obvious reasons,* been a decline, in this alone there has

* The supplying Canada with tea, by the East India Company, to the extent of above two millions of pounds per annum, has reduced the imports of that article, by the United States, from whence the supply was previously drawn, to a similar amount; and the protecting duties in favour of their own shipping, France and the Netherlands, have caused a still greater falling off in the trade of the Americans. The natural influence of these circumstances on their export trade will be readily perceived.

been a rapid increase. After such statements as these, it would be quite superfluous to insist that the interests of the wool grower, the woollen manufacturer, the shipowner, and the merchant, are all deeply and equally concerned in opening to British enterprise a free commercial intercourse with China.

The facts connected with the exportation of the metals are strikingly conclusive of the advantages which have resulted from the opening of the India Trade. Under the close monopoly, the only metals exported to India and China were iron, copper, tin, and lead. To no other, the only metals exported to India and China were iron, copper, tin, and lead. In 1814, the total quantity these the Free Trader has added brass, spelter, and quicksilver. In 1814, the total quantity of metals exported to India was 14,334 tons, and the total value 494,970*l.* Of this, the East India Company exported 9813 tons, value 374,583*l.*; and the Free Trader only 4520 tons, value 120,387*l.* In 1827, the total quantity exported rose to 34,093 tons, and the value to 768,985*l.* Of this quantity, the East India Company exported only 8512, and the Free Trader 25,580 tons.

We shall particularly advert to two of these metals only, viz., copper and spelter, because there are circumstances relating to their exportation too remarkable to be passed over. By the last Charter of the East India Company they were compelled to export, or to allow others to export, British copper to the extent of 1,500 tons a-year. In 1814, the whole quantity of copper exported to India and China was 1,881 tons; of this, the East India Company exported 1,505 tons, and the Free Traders but 376 tons. In 1827, the quantity exported was 2,613 tons, an increase of 38 per cent. The East India Company now exported only 168 tons, or about a ninth part of what they had exported thirteen years before; the Free Trader exported 2,445 tons, or between six and seven-fold more than he had done in the commencement of his trade. The quantity of copper furnished to China by the East India Company, out of the 2,612 tons above-mentioned, (but in which, however, is included brass and manufactures of the two metals,) was 23 tons 14 cwt. The Free Trader, it will be seen from the statement now given, exported of his own free choice, and while excluded from the market of China, 63 per cent. beyond the quantity exported by the East India Company under the compulsive of an Act of Parliament; the East India Company, when relieved from complying with the statute, has exported scarcely more than one-ninth part of what it had done under legislative compulsion. The consumption of spelter in India has also been large. About 50,000*l.* worth of spelter, under the name of *tutenague*, used to be imported into India from China, whence it was smuggled. In 214 years, the East India Company did not discover that spelter is now one of the most valuable of our exports to India. It was exported for the first time to India in 1820, when the amount was no more than 21 tons, and the declared value 756*l.* In the six years ending 1828, spelter was exported from this country to the amount of 36,802 tons, and to the value of 745,028*l.**

After statements so unanswerable as these, it would be a waste of time to insist further upon the eminent success which, in every branch of industry connected with it, has followed the limited opening to the India trade given by the Legislature in 1814, nor is it necessary to point out, that the rates of land rise with the increase of trade. The fact is, indeed, unquestionable; and it is no less clear, that every class of the community is benefited by what ever increases the interchange of commodities. With India, and even with China, we need no reciprocity of treaties; the matter is entirely in our own hands.

There is no assignable limit to the extension of our commerce with the Eastern World, provided that men be left free to pursue their own interest in their own way. No man, especially since the unequivocal and unbiassed testimony of Bishop Heber, now believes the fallacies of those who described the Hindoos as uninfluenced by the motives or divested of the appetites and passions of the rest of our race. The great majority eat meat when they can get it, and, like their neighbours, all delight in a cheap bargain; hence they want English goods, and, to obtain them, will joyfully labour to produce equivalents for exchange. They have sugar, coffee, cotton, raw silk, indigo, and many other commodities which we want; all of which they can produce as cheap as they are produced elsewhere; but with the exception of indigo, the produce of their soil and labour is of inferior quality; and this brings us to the consideration of the benefits to be derived from a free personal intercourse of Englishmen with the natives of our eastern possessions.

* For more minute information on these important subjects, reference may be had to a valuable pamphlet, entitled "Free Trade and Colonization of India."—Ridgway, London. E. and J. Smith, Liverpool.

The regulation which prevents Englishmen from possessing a property in the soil of India, has been lauded as a magnanimous instance of self-denial; but its impolicy cannot fail to strike those unaccustomed to examine the ties which bind together individuals or nations.

That which was intended to protect the natives of India from the cupidity and ambition of British adventurers, by precluding the alienation of the fee simple of their soil, has, by obstructing the accumulation of capital, and of the diffusion of wealth and of knowledge, and by prohibiting a social intercourse with individuals of a skilful and industrious race, deprived the Hindoos of one of the best means of raising themselves from the miserable condition into which they were thrown by the perpetual wars which preceded the establishment of British rule, and in which they are retained principally by the grinding taxation of the East India Company.

This subject is much misunderstood, and has been grievously misrepresented. The term *colonization*, as applied to the permission to Englishmen to settle in India, is altogether incorrect; for the climate of the most productive parts of the country must for ever prevent the intrusion of the English labourer on its soil, if he were not deterred from the attempt by the low rate of wages, which do not exceed 3*d.* per day. Men of character and enterprise would in general be the only settlers; and such, instead of being the rivals of the Indian peasant, would be customers for his labour, and tend to raise his wages. But the greatest advantage to this country would be that these settlers, along with natives of enterprise and intelligence who followed their example, would become the depositories of its surplus capital, which would thus find that secure and profitable employment in the land and labour of India, which it is the great evil of the present day that it seeks in vain at home.

This is not mere speculative reasoning; it is the result of experience: we will illustrate it by the facts connected with the culture of indigo. About forty-five years ago, the cultivation and manufacture of this plant was entirely in the hands of the natives, and it was so inferior to that of South America, that it was unfit for the European market. About this time circumstances permitted its manufacture to be pursued by Europeans, and the results are, that about four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America are now supplied by good Indian indigo, which is considered about 12½ per cent. better than that of South America; and it is the only article of the staples of India before referred to, which bears a higher price in the home market than similar articles from other quarters. Of three hundred and nine manufactories of indigo for exportation in Bengal, thirty-seven only are conducted by natives, and even the indigo prepared by them, in imitation of the European process, is still 15 per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by the Europeans. The average yearly quantity of indigo produced in British India is from 8,500,000 lbs. to 9,000,000 lbs., worth from 2,700,000*l.* to 3,300,000*l.* On the average of the four years ending 1828 the total yearly consumption of Great Britain was 2,421,879 lbs., of which one-eleventh only was South American indigo, the whole of the rest being East Indian. These results have been effected by European capital, skill, and industry, in spite of the prohibition to hold lands, or take security on lands,—of a tax equal (on its original estimate) to half the gross produce of the soil imposed upon those who hold it,—of the precarious footing on which Europeans stand who live beyond the protection of the King's Courts,—of the imperfect administration of justice in the interior,—and of the bias of the Government and its agents against all the private enterprises of Englishmen.

Cotton, sugar, and tobacco, are still in the condition in which indigo was before its culture and manufacture were undertaken by Europeans; and with these articles, like causes would produce similar effects. The soil and climate are congenial to their growth, but they languish for want of capital and skill. East India cotton, of the best sort, is inferior in value in the home market to the worst of any other country in which the skill and industry of the European race is exercised. East India sugar bears a lower price, exclusive of duty, in the home market, than any other; yet the cane is indigenous to India, and it is in evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, that the inferiority of the sugar is solely attributable to want of intelligence and attention in the cultivation, and of skill and machinery in the manufacture, which Europeans can at once supply, but which ages may not suffice to produce in the natives of a country circumstanced as India is, without sufficient capital or good example.

Tobacco illustrates the truth of these remarks more strikingly than either cotton or sugar. The average quality of American tobacco is above 150 per cent., the finest 500 per cent. better than the best Indian tobacco brought to London. This inferiority is not owing to the soil

or climate. Tobacco is a hardy plant, of a range in its growth of at least 50 degrees on each side of the equator; capital, skill, and industry are alone wanted to make that of India compete with that of America. Why, then, it may be asked, have not Europeans in India betaken themselves to the production of tobacco, cotton, sugar, &c., as well as of indigo? The answer is, in general terms, because they are few in number, and the cultivation of indigo occupies all the capital they can command, and affords the most favourable investment. The introduction of the coffee-plant into Bengal, in 1823, is another example of the effects produced by the industry and enterprise of Europeans, a few of whom, encouraged by the permission to hold lands on lease for this purpose only, began the cultivation of coffee in the year above-named, and have produced small quantities of excellent quality; but that it should have been scarcely cultivated at all in the East India Company's territories till that period, is a striking instance of the supineness of the Company's rule.

We do not consider this to be the place in which to refute all the objections which are urged against the views we are endeavouring to elucidate; but there is one to which peculiar importance is attached and to which, therefore, we advert, for the purpose of showing how unanswerably it may be refuted.

It is alleged that the possession of lands in India by Englishmen (under permission to purchase) would be extensive, and would prove so galling to the Natives, that it would provoke them to expel us. The Mahometan conquerors of India, who were a small minority, held possessions by a right which violated justice, yet there were few insurrections against their authority, and not one case of successful rebellion in the course of seven centuries; and will a right, which is obtained by the transfer of its equivalent with the free consent of the seller, be more likely to excite hostility? Are the manners of Englishmen less to be endured than those of a fierce, uncivilized race—a race whose members are the professors of a persecuting religious creed? We pay a humane respect to the religious prejudices of the Hindoos; the Moslems cursed them to their face, and the humiliated believer in the nine incarnations of Vishnu answered not again. What, then, was the chief support of the Mahometan power? Their successive emigrations and settlement in India, which, after all, did not bring that people to more than about one-seventh of the whole population; but, as intruders in the occupancy of the soil, they far exceeded in number what centuries can make the English settlers.

Let this question then be answered: is the dominion of the East India Company, which excludes from offices of trust, emolument, and honour, the native possessors of rank and wealth; which monopolizes the trade in necessities of life, and in staple articles of commerce; which bows down to the earth which he tills, by a rigorous exaction of taxes, the wretched cultivator,—the descendant of those who were once the proprietors of the soil?—Is this tyrannous rule, which combines at once the stern, un pitying character of a despot with the avaricious meanness of a usurer,—is this rule, we ask, so attractive in its nature, and so beneficial to those subjected to it, that their obedience and attachment may be securely relied on? Is the patience of the Hindoo, who bears this rule without murmuring, likely to be disturbed by a few hundred strangers scattered amongst the millions of India, and whose pursuits would rather have a beneficial influence in stimulating the energies and raising the moral worth of the Hindoo character? This question must be answered by the people of Great Britain, as citizens of a free state, but, above all, as freemen whom “the truth has made free.” We call upon our countrymen to cast from their minds the absurd dogmas which the advocates of a pernicious policy have so unblushingly proclaimed, and the scheme which the advocates of a pernicious policy have so insidiously disseminated; we call on them to exercise their own understandings on a matter which involves not less their own individual interests than the welfare of millions of their brethren; to convey to Parliament the firm and temperate expression of their conviction that the misrule of India must cease; that the humiliating exclusion of British merchants, from markets where those of every other nation have free admittance, must be taken off; that the narrow channel to which British commerce with her Eastern possessions has hitherto been confined, must be thrown open, and its stream suffered to flow unimpeded, bringing increased prosperity and happiness, both to the people of Britain and to their fellow-subjects in Hindostan.

By Order of the Committee,

THOMAS LANGTON, Secretary.

REPORT

ON THE FUNDS AND FINANCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

Presented to the Liverpool General Committee on the East India and China Trade.

The Sub-Committee, appointed to inquire into the state of the Funds and Finances of the East India Company, territorial and commercial, with the view to show their bearing on the question of the probability of an immediate opening of the China Trade being obtainable by compromise with the Company, and at what price to the country, have now to report the result of their investigation. They find, from the accounts presented to Parliament by the Court of Directors, and printed by order of the House of Commons,—

I. That the gross Territorial Revenue of India for the year ending 1st of May, 1827, was	£23,383,497
That for the year ending 1st of May, 1814, the last year under the old Charter, it was	17,267,901
That the Revenue therefore had increased, owing to the accessions of territory acquired during these thirteen years	6,115,596
II. That on the 1st of May, 1827, the Register Debt in India, bearing interest amounted to	
That a debt, due from the Territorial to the Commercial Branch, had grown up under the new Charter, including interest of	34,796,835
That there is also a debt, entitled the Home Bond Debt, the origin of which has not been investigated, but which the Court of Directors represent to have been incurred for political purposes chiefly bearing interest and amounting to	5,260,650
	3,780,475
That the total debt bearing interest was, therefore, on the 1st of May, 1827	43,837,900
That on the 1st of May, 1814, the Register Debt in India, bearing interest, was	26,050,455
And the Home Bond Debt, at the same time	7,559,098
	34,518,553
That the Territorial Debt has, therefore, increased, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st May, 1827	9,308,107
III. That in eight years out of thirteen, there has been a net surplus revenue, after defraying the ordinary expenses of the Government, and paying the interest on the Register Debt in India, amounting altogether to	10,264,386
That in five of the thirteen years, the revenue has fallen short of meeting the same charges, and that the deficiencies amount to	4,928,868
Leaving for the whole period a net surplus of	5,335,518
IV. That the Company, in these thirteen years, have paid dividends to the Proprietors of East India Stock, to the amount of	8,190,000
That it has further paid, out of the Commercial profits, in interest on the Home Bond Debt	2,333,162
And that there have been advanced or set apart from the surplus commercial profits, towards the liquidation of the Indian Territorial Debt, under the fourth head of appropriation of 53 Geo. III. sec. 57, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st of May, 1827*	4,755,027
That thus the net profits of the Company in these thirteen years amount to	15,278,187
V. That their Commercial Assets in England amounted, on the 1st of May, 1827, to	15,691,915
And those in India, at the same date, to	2,714,124
Together	18,406,039

* It is not clear, from the manner in which the accounts are given, whether this sum is inclusive or exclusive of the interest on the Home Bond Debt; if the former, this sum is the net surplus profit after payment of the dividends in thirteen years, but if the latter, which is here assumed, that surplus will be 7,088,189*l.*, the amount of this and the preceding sum.

And that the said Assets, with a view to show the probability of their being more or less fully realizable, and in what time, may be arranged under the following heads, viz. —

Debt from the public, payable on the expiration of the Charter, stock in the Funds taken at market prices, cash and bills, balances in the hands of the servants of the Company, advances repayable in England, and amount of goods sold, but not yet paid for, in England and India	5,688,073
Deduct all Debts due by the Company in England and India	2,419,883
	3,274,190
There remain Assets almost immediately realizable	5,260,650
Debt from Territory to Commerce, on which interest is immediately payable	8,396,602
Value of goods unsold in England and India, with those on the passage, and in the course of shipment	1,474,597
Stores in India, ships, India House, and warehouses	18,406,039

Net Commercial Assets on the 1st of May, 1827

In presenting these statements, we venture to offer a few remarks on the subject, with reference to which they were prepared; but, as the partial measure of opening the China trade to the public (the other privileges of the Company remaining *in statu quo*) would lead into complicated details, we confine our remarks to the more comprehensive, but more simple question of the entire cessation of the Company's privileges; satisfied, if it can be shown, as we think it can, that the Proprietors of East India Stock would sustain no real injury, present or future, by the measure, that it ought not, in any quarter, to experience insuperable obstacles.

In the inquiry, how the interests of the Proprietors would be affected by the non-renewal of their charter, or by the earlier cessation of their exclusive privileges, the first question that arises is—what grounds have they to expect that, in such cases their present rate of dividends will remain to them?

The first and best of these grounds is, that they themselves are in possession of assets, which, if realized to the extent of their balance sheet (and they are too old merchants not to make a safe estimate) would at once give them the full market value of their stock, or purchase Government Annuities equal in amount to their dividends. But admitting that the assets would not realize within 10 per cent. of their stated value; that, during the process of winding up the concern, two years' dividends would have to be paid out of the assets, and that many old servants would be thrown out of bread by the discontinuance of their commerce, whom it would be necessary to pension off, there would still remain the means of providing the amount of the dividends, or if there were a deficiency, it would, at most, be inconsiderable.

The second ground is, that the Legislature, by the Act of 53 George III., section 58, has secured, during the continuance of the Act, their dividends to the proprietors; enacting, that should the commercial profits in any year prove insufficient, the deficiency shall be made good out of any surplus revenue that may have arisen from the territory in the preceding year; thus conceding the justness of the claim, as far as the Indian revenue of the preceding year suffices to meet it.

The third ground is, that the 57th section of the above recited Act does not allow the dividends to the proprietors to be increased beyond their present rate, whatever the profits of their commerce may be, but directs the surplus of that profit to be applied to the liquidation of the territorial debt. In conformity to this provision, the Company state, that they have so applied 4,755,027*l.*, between the 1st of May, 1814, and 1st of May, 1827.

The Company has had no occasion during this period to avail itself of the recourse to the surplus territorial revenue to eke out the dividends; and the appropriation of so large an amount from its profits, in aid of the territory, appears to give it a claim to reciprocal assistance in case of need.

The first of these grounds is, however, the only one on which the proprietors are entitled to build; the two latter are more plausible than just: the object of the two clauses of the Charter Act of 1813, giving a recourse to the surplus territorial revenue of India of the preceding year to make up the dividends, if the commercial profits should fall short,—and directing all profits, above the amount of the dividends, to be applied in reduction of the territorial debt of India,—is, manifestly, to guard the proprietors, in some measure, against those fluctuations in the rate of their dividends to which they had in former times been always

subject,—and to limit that rate to its present scale as a maximum; but in no wise to pledge the Government or the revenues, of either England or India, for the permanency of the rate, or even for the existence of the dividend; for, with all the advantages and protection of the monopoly, abused as we have reason to believe it to be, there were one or more years under the former charter, when, instead of profit, the Company sustained heavy losses, on a balance of their trade; and in five of the first thirteen years of the present charter, the territorial revenues have fallen short of meeting the charges on them. Should these circumstances occur again, and in the same year, (in which supposition there is nothing improbable) the proprietors must either go without dividends, or take them out of their capital stock, unless, indeed, they could induce Parliament to relieve them at the expense of the people of England or of India. As to the claim which the proprietors might rest on the appropriation of part of the profits of their trade in liquidation of the Indian territorial debt, its futility will be apparent, if it be considered that the proprietors can derive no benefit from these profits beyond their dividends, amounting, in the thirteen years to which this inquiry is limited, to 8,190,000*l.*; and that the surplus of the net profits, 7,088,189*l.*, has been applied in liquidation of principal or interest of the Indian territorial debt. Now, as the people of this country are barely able to provide for the payment of the interest of their own heavy debt, it cannot have been in the contemplation of a wise and paternal Legislature, the guardians of the public purse, that the profits on the East India Company's trade should much exceed the amount of the dividends; and the surplus, if expected to be of more than trivial amount, would have been directed to be applied, it cannot be doubted, in liquidation, not of the territorial debt of India, but of the territorial debt of this country, from the inhabitants of which this surplus has been exacted, in prices of tea unnecessarily exorbitant. The above surplus profit of 7,088,189*l.*, in thirteen years is, however, no measure of the exorbitancy of the Company's tea prices. Their mode of conducting this trade is well known to be wasteful and extravagant in no common degree; and the difference in expense between this management and that of the economical footing on which the Free Trade could import teas, enhances uselessly and unnecessarily, the prices of the article to the British consumer. But we must not stop here: in every other branch of their trade the East India Company have to sustain a competition with the Free Traders of this country, of the Continent of Europe, and of the United States. In contending with the economical management and moderate profits of these, it is no matter of surprise that loss to the Company is the invariable result; but it is serious matter of complaint that these losses have to be covered by a further enhancement of the price of tea.

But though the proprietors have no claim of right to have the permanence and present rate of their dividends guaranteed to them, yet, in the event of their consenting to an immediate surrender of their exclusive privileges, there would most probably be no objection raised in any quarter to giving them in return the security in question; and this point being secured, what difference can it make to them whether the charter should terminate to-morrow or a century hence?

To this it may be replied, that the proprietors have a remote contingent interest in the net surplus revenue of India, one-sixth part of which, by the 69th clause of the before-mentioned Act of 53 Geo. III., shall, from time to time, be allotted to them, for their own use and benefit, the Company having previously, from their joint commercial and territorial surplus revenues, reduced the debt to 13,000,000*l.*; or, in other words, till they have paid off 30,837,960*l.* of debt, and have further paid into the Exchequer a sum* of 12,000,000*l.*, to be termed the Guarantee Fund, in all 42,837,960*l.*

It would be extravagant to expect seriously, that such preliminaries can ever be performed. Every war which has occurred in India for the last thirty years has terminated successfully; every war has brought an accession of territory and an accession of revenue, but also an increase of debt. It would be the height of folly and presumption to calculate on the same unvaried success in war, or on the continuance of peace for such a series of years, as to allow of the supposition that the 42,837,960*l.*, will ever be paid off.

If, therefore, the debt has kept increasing, during a series of successful wars, and increasing territories and revenues, what would ensue, were occasional reverses to be sustained, provinces lost, &c., &c.? Is it not obvious, that with a more chequered result of the contests in which our Indian empire may become engaged, (without anticipating disasters, or the snapping of that thread on which our power in India has been so often said to hang,) the debt

* It is only on the payment into the exchequer of this sum of 12,000,000*l.*, that the revenues of this country become liable to the proprietors for the integrity of their dividends.

can never be materially reduced? Is it not highly probable that the dividends, which on the strength of increasing territories and revenues have been, since 1776, raised from 6 to 7, to 8, and finally, to 10½ per cent., would, most probably, have to retrograde to 8, to 7, to 6 per cent., or still lower?*

This remote contingent interest in the Indian surplus revenue may, indeed, be a fit foundation whereon to raise a few airy castles, or golden day dreams; but it sinks into insignificance when compared with the palpable advantage to the proprietors of having the present rate of their dividends secured to them, undiminished, and in perpetuity. It appears, therefore, to be the most advantageous circumstance that could happen to the proprietors, to be relieved, at once, from all possible consequences of adverse events, political or commercial; and to obtain undoubted security for every advantage they now possess, or in all human probability they ever can possess; and they ought to be sensible that, in such an arrangement, the Legislature would be granting—not what the proprietors have any right to claim, but what they ought to receive with gratitude, as a favour conferred.

In such an arrangement, it is to be hoped, that no one would think of throwing the charge which might be incurred, however unimportant it may be, on this already too heavily burdened nation; it would most justly fall on the territorial revenues of India. India would derive advantages from the change contemplated, which would be cheaply purchased at such an expense.

If these views be correct, what is to prevent the early settlement of this great question, without waiting for the expiration of the charter in 1834?

We have been taught to look at vested interests, however acquired, however injurious to the public, however preposterous, with such respect, that if any actual advantage, however trifling, were likely to result to the proprietor of East India Stock, from working out the dregs of his monopoly, we are well aware that any proposal to interfere with his rights would meet but a cool reception; but, when an immediate surrender of the privileges of the Company would be both advantageous to the proprietors, and afford an early and well-timed alleviation to the present state of distress and suffering in the country, no effort should be spared to procure it.

What is the interest that will stand in the way of so desirable a consummation? Will the Directors of the East India Company incur the weight of odium and indignation which will press upon them, if they cling pertinaciously to privileges unproductive of any real advantage to their constituents; but which, surrendered at once, might alleviate the general distress of the present conjuncture, both by an actual impulse to trade and manufactures, and by the reviving influence of a well-grounded hope for the future? If the committee can draw the attention of persons in power to the relief, which the measure here advocated would afford to the pressing difficulties of the times, we may entertain strong hopes that they will give it their countenance, and promote its adoption. What opposition is there to encounter, but from the Directors and a few influential proprietors, who may feel alarm for their patronage? The Minister, whose decision of character has been productive of so many important results, would have here an opportunity of performing a great act of justice to his country and mankind, attended with such unquestionable advantages as to leave the interests opposed to it in comparative insignificance; for in place of any hostile feeling in the public, there would not be a voice from one end of the country to the other, (with the exception of a few interested individuals,) but would be raised in approbation of the deed.

By order of the Sub-Committee,
THOMAS LANGTON, SECRETARY.

* The dividends were, in 1732, 8 per cent.; in 1732, 7 per cent.; in 1743, 8 per cent.; in 1755, 8 per cent.; in 1766, 10 per cent.; and in 1767, 12½ per cent. This was in a paroxysm of intoxication on the first territorial acquisition being known; it was on this occasion that Parliament first interfered in the regulation of the dividends: from this period to 1772, the Proprietors, the Directors, and Parliament, were engaged in a continued struggle to raise and to keep down the dividends, which fluctuated between 10 and 12½ per cent., till in 1772, when, from adverse events, it became necessary to reduce them to 6 per cent. They were, in 1776, 7 per cent.; in 1778, 8 per cent.; in 1793, 10½ per cent.; at which they have since continued; but can the Proprietors, with these circumstances before their eyes, imagine that their dividends alone shall be exempt for the future from the proverbial mutability of human affairs!